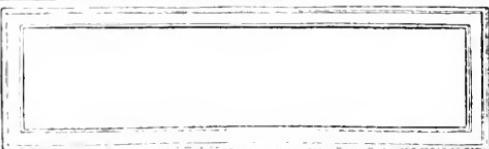


UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES





NEWT GRESHAM,
Texas,
Founder of Farmers' Union.

THE
Mission, History and Times
OF THE
Farmers' Union

A NARRATIVE OF THE GREATEST INDUSTRIAL-
AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION IN
HISTORY AND ITS
MAKERS

BY CHARLES SIMON BARRETT



MARSHALL & BRUCE CO.
NASHVILLE, TENN.

1909

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C. S. BARNETT, Georgia, President Farmers' Union.

DEDICATION.

W HATEVER service I may have been to the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America is due to God Almighty and one woman. If He gave me the willing mind and the firm hand, from her has come the courage to properly direct that mind; the clean, never-tiring inspiration to support the strength of that hand through many tasks that sometimes seemed to my timid spirit to loom as mountains that were past my feeble skill. When weary and disheartened, I have found in her an ever-present comfort and a renewed hold on hope. In success, she has been the sweetening and leavening influence. In failure, she has been the eager sharer of the burden, and in the quiet love of her eyes and the calm magic of her voice I have seen the prophecy of the light yet to dawn in the East. Two of the freshest and most fertile years in her life were joyfully sacrificed to furnish the means to sustain me in this great mission for the farmer of America. For the last five years, the following of duty has meant nine-tenths of the time spent away from her, leaving problems of daily happening to be solved by her in loneliness. She has been heaven's perfect gift to the man who finds it in his heart to offer his services to his fellows. To the wife of my bosom, the mother of my children, I dedicate this volume in reverence and thanksgiving.



R. H. MCCULLOUGH, Arkansas,
National Secretary-Treasurer.

L. R. F. DICKWORTH, Georgia,
Ex-National President.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THREE should be a strong reason for every book that offers itself for public patronage. My justification, therefore, for putting into the form of permanency the history and times of the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union is the obeying of an impulse to set forth for our day and for posterity the essential events and the distinguishing mission of this organization, the greatest of its kind in history.

The fate of humanity and the rapidity of progress have been determined by many critical developments in past centuries. Since the beginning of creation men have been continually, if somewhat blindly, working toward a more perfect conception of liberty; a finer adjustment of rights and privileges, so that no one class or clique should profit at the expense of another; so that opportunity should be equalized, and each man's title to happiness made to rest solely upon his own merits.

The Magna Charta of the English barons is an illustration of the peculiar crisis of which I am speaking. That historic document sought to chain kings down to an equitable interpretation of the rights of the average man, and to assure, at least, a degree of justice in government.

The French revolution wrote the salient meaning of magna charter in letters of blood and fire. It emphasized tragically that the man in the ranks had determined upon sharing in the management of his own affairs; it gave aristocracy and the right of the few to drive and fatten from the many, a death-blow; it dealt a fatal stroke at class distinctions and special privileges, so far as concerns outward appearances.

Our own declaration of independence was a far step in that direction. Were it and the constitution construed literally today, America would not now be afflicted with any of the gigantic monopolies or the special privileges that unjustly and injuriously concentrate our industrial and financial power.

The Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union may be said to have all the significance, without the violence, of magna charter, of the French revolution and of the declaration of independence.

It is the protest of the man and the woman in the field, the man and the woman into whose hands God on high has given the task of feeding and clothing his children, against the uneven distribution of opportunities and privileges, that full, broad sweep of "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" guaranteed by the federal constitution.

It seeks, in its way, to effect a revolution, but one in which there is to be no thundering of cannon, no slaughter of thousands, no devastation of smiling acres.

Other movements have aimed at similar ends, but fallen palsied by the wayside. This movement has given evidence of its strength and its ability to endure. Its present outlook is bordered in the horizon of no man's mind.

And these are the motives that have led me to write the history and the personal narratives that follow these pages. They should be of interest to men and women and children throughout America, for they contain the story of the fight of a brave people, a fight that I am convinced is destined to be finally set down as a successful one.

The first few chapters are written with a view to summarizing Union principles and problems as they interest the farmer generally. What seems repetition in subsequent chapters is an effort to impress the application of these principles upon purely Union members.

Readers who are tempted to complain of the incompleteness of this volume, should remember that it is impossible to compress all of the even more important events of so large a theme into the covers of one book. Additional volumes may be forthcoming. Meanwhile, I can conscientiously say that the larger canvass of the subject has been sketched in the present volume.

In this history the true story of the Farmers' Union is told. Praise has been given where due, and censure where the occasion demanded. No effort has been made to disguise or conceal any of the facts, as the writer felt that the whole truth ought to be told.

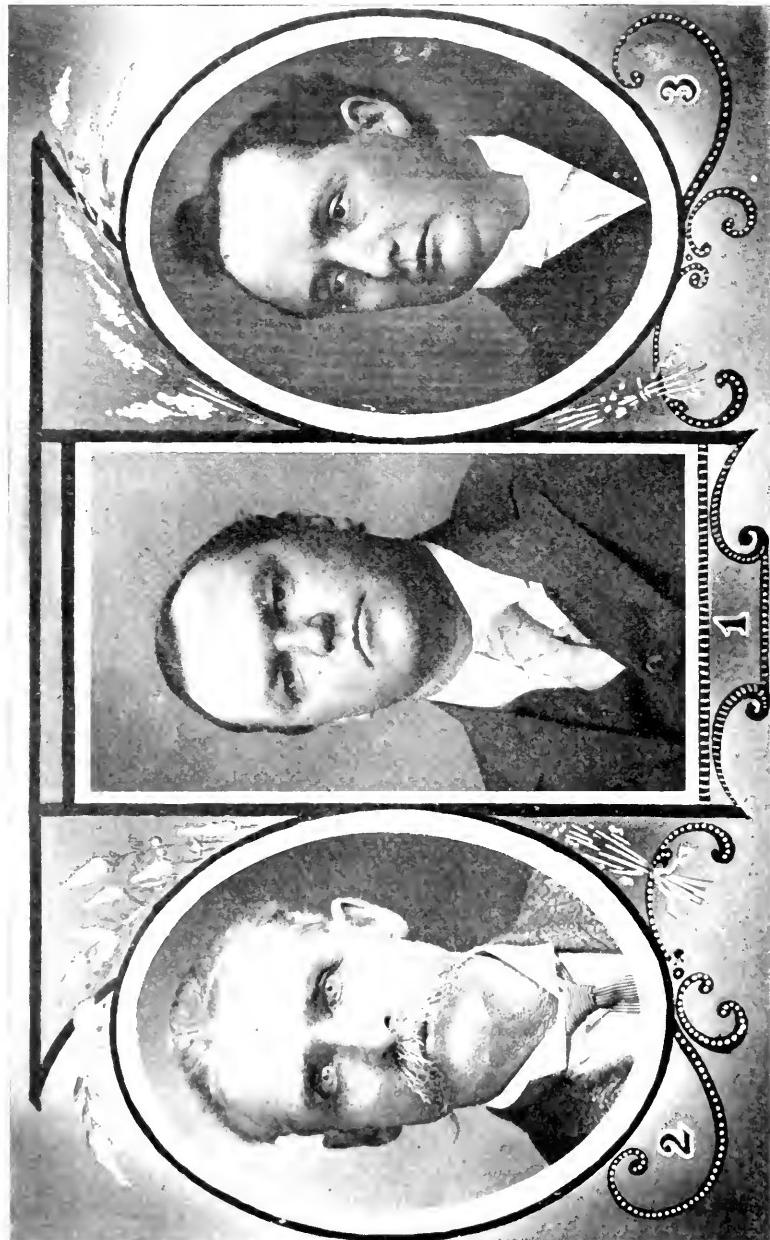
The author knows personally nearly every official of every State Union; knows every incident connected with the work; knows about all the rows, the strife, the dissensions; knows it personally, knows it from experience, for he had to settle each of them; knows all the facts of the conventions, for he has been present at nearly every State and all National meetings. The incidents here recorded are not second hand, but from actual knowledge. Other writers of histories have had to depend largely upon data gathered from reliable sources, but, as they declared in

their prefaces, it was given to them by others. Not so with the data of this book. It is a recital of events and incidents that occurred within the range of the personal knowledge of the writer.

The history of the Farmers' Union is sent out to the world with the hope that it may fill a need and reflect honor upon the organization.

C. S. BARRETT.

UNION CITY, GA., *March 10, 1909.*



2. N. C. MURRAY, Texas,
Ex-National President.

1. O. P. PRICE, Texas,
Ex-National President.

3. E. A. CLEGG, Texas,
Ex-National President.

INTRODUCTION

ONE of the peculiarities of the agricultural situation of all the countries is the lack of unity among the farmers. It is almost impossible to organize them. The reason for this is found in the nature of farm life itself. Agriculture tends to develop individuality. In mechanical pursuits, and in other industries incident to the city life, men are inclined to move in groups. The host of urban workers march in companies and battalions. Therefore, organization is easy. But each farm is a separate kingdom, however small. Each farmer develops self-reliance, and glories in being his own boss.

When the farmers enter the army, they are the soldiers who find military discipline the most intolerable. But, for instance, the army of the Southern Confederacy was notorious for the spirit of individual independence manifested by the troops of the rank and file. There was a certain point beyond which the officers found it impossible to enforce strict discipline. The explanation of this is that the men who wore the gray came, to a very large extent, from the farms. The Northern army, drawn largely from the big cities, was much more amenable to discipline.

When a labor leader, like Powderly, or Mitchell, or Gompers, starts out to form Unions among the workmen of cities, they find conditions favorable. City laborers are predisposed to organization. They naturally incline to move the mass, rather than the detail. Consequently, the only trouble in the case is that of choosing leaders, and that of watching the grafted, the boodler, the traitor, in order that the Union may not be used for some purpose other than that for which it is organized.

But when a farmer takes up the task of organizing the farmers, he quickly realizes that he has tackled a job equal to the twelve labors of Hercules; I don't mean *one* of the twelve labors of Hercules; *I mean the whole twelve*.

First of all, each farmer is so set in his own way, so full of self-reliance and a sense of manly independence that he hates like blazes to make the least surrender for the good of his class. He has always bought as he pleased (or thinks so, at least), and sold

as he pleased, and planted what he pleased, and bossed himself generally. Therefore, he cannot bear the idea of bending his stiff neck to the yoke of any organization which will, in the least, interfere with that glorious independence of his.

Apparently, he would rather go to industrial Hades, if permitted to take his own time and methods in doing so, than to be led into the Promised Land of Prosperity by a Moses who *may* find it necessary to substitute the will of the class for that of the individual.

Then, again, the farmer who seeks to organize the farmers is met by dismal references to ancient history. The "Grange" didn't do what was expected of it; the "Wheel" did not keep rolling; the "Farmers' Alliance" went to pieces, and so forth and so on. Very often these dismal references to ancient history are sufficient to restrain the farmers of an entire country from "picking the flint and trying it again."

Yet it should not be so. The Grange was a surface affair, and the Wheel merged in the Alliance, and the Alliance was the grandest educational movement that has stirred the masses since the Civil War.

It had a noble influence in bringing the Blue and the Gray together; in bridging, if not filling, the bloody chasm; in breaking the bonds of political serfdom; in teaching the people how the laws affect their material interests; in stimulating them to read, to discuss economic questions, and to exercise their own independent judgment in the matter of voting.

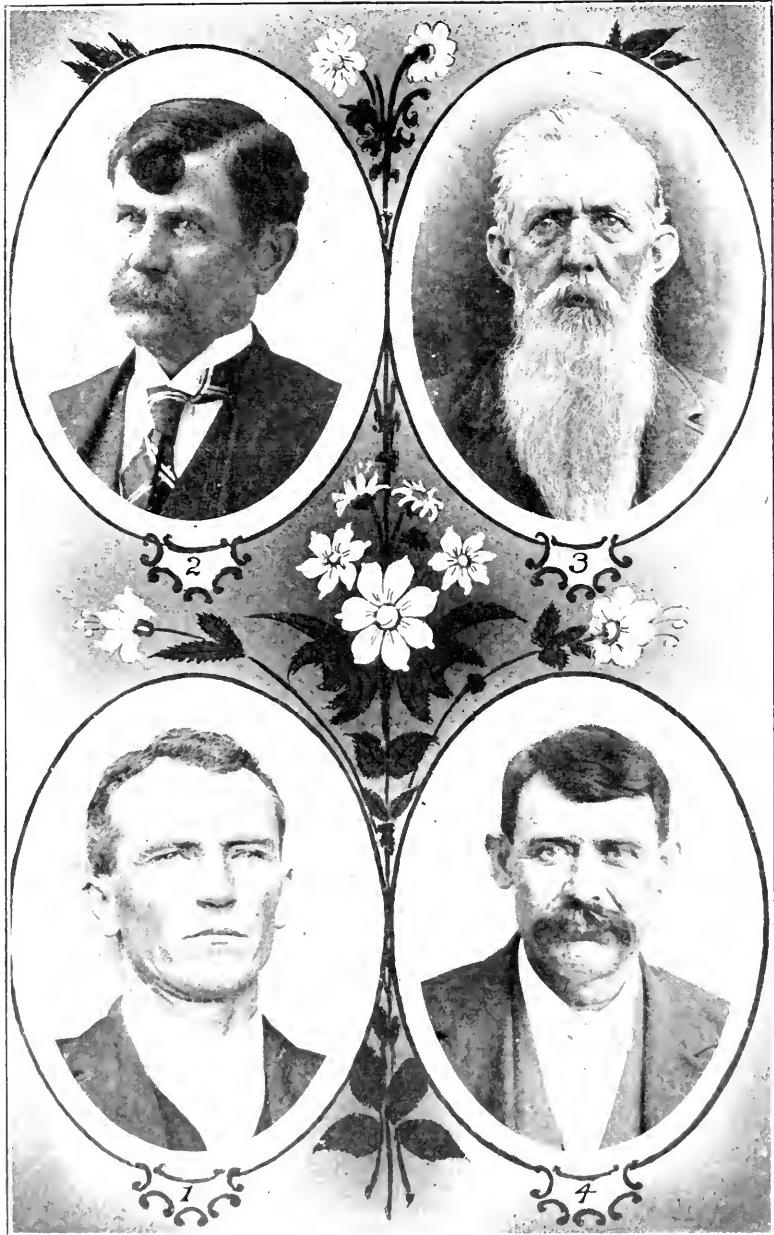
The Farmers' Alliance gave a tremendous impulse to reform in affairs of the State, and it created a public opinion which has had a beneficial influence throughout the country. Its mistake was that, *as an organization*, it endorsed candidates for office. This not only tended to disrupt the lodges, but afforded the leaders such golden opportunities for "selling out" to ambitious candidates that they could not resist the temptation.

It is a subject for national rejoicing that the farmers *are* coming together again in a class organization of their own. Heaven knows, it is time. A flock of sheep, girdled by ravenous wolves, would not be in a much worse fix than are the farmers of our land, surrounded by the predatory trusts. A naked swimmer, trying to make shore through a swarm of man-eating sharks would have just about as good a chance for his life as a Southern cotton grower has to prosper under present conditions. It appalls me when I think of the indifference of the farmer; it enrages me when I contemplate the deviltry of the system which robs him.

I am glad that President Charles S. Barrett has prepared a history of "The Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America." Such a book is timely, and is bound to do good. May it strengthen the faith of every member of the order; and may the order itself grow and develop until the combined strength of the farmers will be brought to bear upon our lawmakers to the end that agriculture shall not be burdened with the support of other industries.

THOS. E. WATSON.

THOMSON, GA., November 18, 1908.



PART OF THE ORIGINAL BOARD OF TEN.

1. W. S. SISK, Texas.
2. DR. L. L. SEAMSTER, Texas. First President of Farmers' Union.
3. T. J. POUND, Texas. 4. JESSE ADAMS, Texas.

GREETINGS FROM JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES.

TO THE FARMERS' UNION HISTORY: I recognize and hail the elaboration of your records, achievements, and aspirations into history, with unusual pleasure.

I was one of the first public men in Georgia to give my heartiest indorsement to the Farmers' Union. At a time when your great organization was looked upon with skepticism, and, by many who did not understand its purpose, openly flouted and discredited, I recognized the superb and unbreakable foundations upon which it was builded, and gave it my faith and fellowship from the first.

I rejoice, therefore, as a pioneer, in the wonderful work it has done—in its wisdom, in its loyalty, in its silence, in its strength, in its unblemished honor, and in its unquestioned patriotism.

If it can only keep the faith of its fathers, who are themselves all young. If it can preserve unbroken the methods and the manners of its brief and eventful years, its glory will be written—surely—in the years to come.

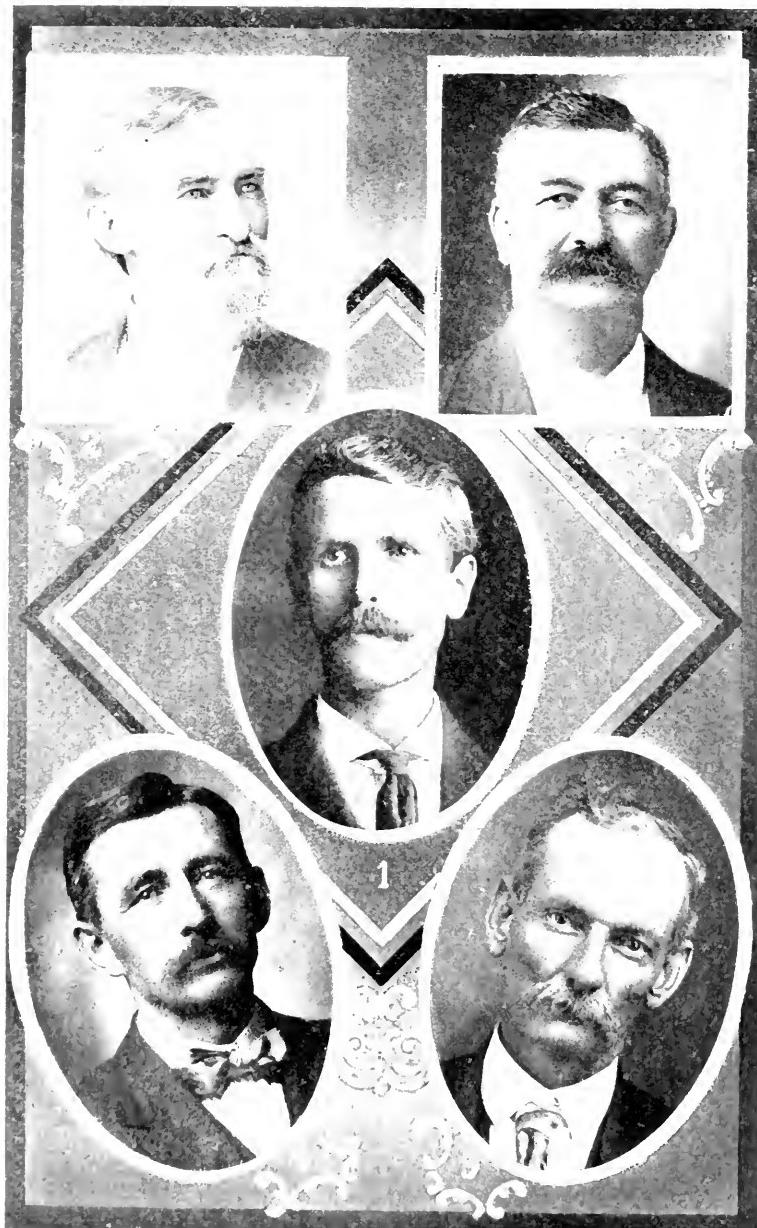
The mighty forces of the soil have never been so masterfully organized and so masterfully led. For this reason they have never wrought so large a work of development, and have never fronted so marvelous a mission of usefulness as they do today.

* May God keep the great organization straight, simple-mannered and sincere; may the demagogue and the speculator never creep like wolves into the sheep-fold of the faithful.

For myself, wanting nothing, asking nothing, hoping nothing but the welfare of the country, and of the people, I hold it a privilege to add my fervent God-speed to the stately marches of this beneficent Union of the farmers of America.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES.

NEW YORK, March 10, 1909.



NATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. W. A. MORRIS, Alabama. | 3. W. T. LOUDERMILK, Texas. |
| 2. S. L. WILSON, Mississippi. | 4. I. T. M. JEFFORDS, Oklahoma. |
| 5. I. N. MCCOLLISTER, Louisiana. | |

CHAPTER I.

THE REASON.

ORGANIZATION, its present and genesis, is written indelibly throughout the works of nature in the handwriting of the Almighty. It is evident in the rushing torrent that converts water into electricity. It is evident in the tempest, that takes toll of life, and may obliterate the progress of ages. Benign and malign forces of ordered concentration are obvious in the smallest and largest detail of the heavens and that which lies beneath.

Mankind has borrowed this wisdom from Omnipotence. Beginning with his first assembling in masses, used in his first conscious acts of originating, he has applied the lesson learned in the schoolroom of God.

The Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union is now commencing to appreciate the appealing wisdom of this agency. It remained for the great and oppressive trusts, as well as the tremendous corporations that now make industrial distribution easy, to blaze the trail which the farmer has literally been forced to follow.

Before the farmer organized he was at the mercy of every passing swindler who chose to coin his credulity into currency. He was easy prey for the vulture that had made up its mind to live and prosper and expand at the expense of society. He was also fatally handicapped in the hourly prosecution of the plainest sort of business. He was gulled by his merchant. The men from whom he bought clothing and supplies had the benefit of his lack of skill and knowledge of common business principles.

The inequality showed itself most dramatically in matters of quasi-public and legislative nature. Years after mechanical labor had fortified itself with unionism, thereby forcing recognition of its just demands from capital and the public, the farmer was high and dry in his unorganized isolation. His efforts, being scattered, were futile. His strength, being single, was wasted. He might possess, individually, the courage, the persistence, and the ability

essential to the gaining of his ends. All these virtues were actually no more effective than the trickling mountain streams before they are merged into the onrushing and resistless torrent.

The first few movements for the organization of rural interests were ineffectual. They had to deal primarily with that prejudice, distrust and ignorance that was the farmer's legacy because of the loneliness of ages. Thirty years ago the man behind the plow viewed every stranger who approached him with stolid misgiving. He was, to use the vernacular, every day, Sunday and feast days, "from Missouri." He had to be shown. He regarded the person whom he did not know intimately as his natural enemy. He rebuffed the individual not certified by years of acquaintance as a possible imposter. Like the child who has been badly scorched not once but many times, he dreaded the fire. Moreover, the word itself, "fire," was obnoxious to him as applied to things outside a regular and a very narrow horizon.

Records of the first fugitive attempts in distant times to beat down these tremendous inimical forces are not available. They may have been projected by men of the most approved motives and the purest integrity; on the other hand they may not have been. They may have been a characteristic plot of the schemer to play upon the cupidity and narrowness of the farmer for his own advantage. At any rate, judging from my personal experience these latter years, whoever was the pioneer in farmers' coöperative work, had a road to travel beside which that famous boulevard of Jordan was smooth macadam.

The passing and the present generations are tolerably familiar with the story of the Alliance, the Grange, and the Wheel. Each is detailed elsewhere. The Alliance and the Wheel are virtually dead. The Grange still flourishes, but under conditions that are radically amended from those which witnessed its inception.

There are most logical causes for the flagging and the failure and the halting of these worthy crusades. The reasons given in the foregoing paragraphs would largely account for their degeneration. The influences outlined fully in subsequent chapters shed additional light on their collapse. Politics, selfishness, density, jealousy, distrust, were as so many lithe fingers pressing the breath from the throats of these well-planned enterprises. We had to deal with them, and with a multitude of other factors, when we first contemplated the formation of the Farmers' Union. The time was ripe for the enlistment of the agriculturist in the army that would make effectual his rights and his privileges. Abuses and oppression bore upon him from every point of the

industrial, political, and commercial compass. He was asleep, so far as his own vast power was concerned. He was dumb when it came to the moment to express his grievances. He was blind when it came to penetrating artifices and subterfuges which held him fast in bondage, and which firmly fettered the progress of himself, his wife, and his children, reaching forth a bony and devastating touch into the future.

It was facing this unpromising combination that we launched the present order.

Wildfire has a reputation for marvelous spread. Disease can become epidemic in a community within twenty-four hours after the first case has been reported. Lightning illuminates the entire firmament in the fractional part of a second.

The catching on and the growth of the Farmers' Union is a recital that in wonderful swiftness and impelling force outdoes these metaphors. The man of God's broad acres was groaning under a burden. He was at woeful disadvantage with capital and mechanical labor. He was sustaining the burning and the withering fire of commercial conflict, the modern bloodless warfare, which is no less ferocious and murderous because there are no printed rosters of slain and wounded. Thus it was that our gospel of organization fell upon fallow ground. The hand of Newt Gresham rubbed the Genii lamp of loyalty and of energy that was dynamic. An Aladdin army of militant men, men who in their deadly concentration of purpose would not be denied, came into almost instant existence.

Like Jonah's gourd, the order has magnified into overshadowing proportions since its inauguration. I can imagine the eagerness with which men, flocked to the standards of the ancient crusaders, would have wrested the tomb of our Lord from Saracen infidels. That same flashing quickness of response, that same tender consecration, that same grim-visaged resolution characterized the purposes in the first few steps of our organization. We avoided the errors of those who had gone before us. We placed qualifications amidship so discriminately as to minimize the number of foes from within. Search the details related elsewhere, and you will see that the personnel of the order does not include the harpies of history. We also arranged dues and the prorating of dues in the most democratic manner possible. Occasions arise, of course, where unusual emergencies dictate, that measures must be taken for which you will not find provision made in the organic law of the Association. Normally, however,

the presiding and administrative officials are clothed with authority sufficient to justly and effectively discharge their functions.

No farmer is too poor, too obscure, to be a member of the Union. No farmer is too rich, too powerful to enlist himself in our campaign. But poor and rich, high and low, prominent and obscure, frail and powerful, the members are on a scrupulously equal footing. Wealth and station give an applicant no undue handicap over him whose lines are cast in humble places. Both must conform to regulations and requirements. Both must give unreservedly of faith and zeal. Both must foreswear connections and alliances that would embarrass their duty to the Union or that would antagonize their giving freely of brain, intelligence, and conscience. The wealthy traitor or fraud is not screened or condoned one moment longer than the pauper who would sell his brethren for the Scriptural thirty pieces of silver. No man, however farspreading and persuasive his influence, can betray the Union more than once. We have no maudlin, or melodramatic, or lawbreaking penalties such as those ostensibly enforced by the Kentucky night-riders, and by the way, the slander that has deliberately sought to connect the Union with this outrageous form of lawlessness, is based on lies that become the more damnable as they grow more apparent.

I have realized, ever since my first connection with this work, that if it was to succeed with permanence, it must appeal to and chime with the statutes both of God and of man. The temporary success that might easily have been built up on intimidation and violence would have wrought sure and blasting destruction in the last analysis. Our paths have been those of peace, though an armed and an intelligent peace. They will continue to be framed in logic and serenity.

Shortsighted critics have charged with ridicule that we have not accomplished that which we set out to achieve. The indictment is qualifiedly true. It would be unnatural were it not. It took the English people some hundreds of years to get to Magna Charta. Centuries of king craft, atrocity, and justice parodied were required to light the powder train for the French Revolution. The pioneers of America withstood the most exhausting and exasperating tyranny from the Mother Country for more than one hundred years before they gathered the resolve and the courage to battle for independence. Even now they have gone but a short distance along the road to their ideal destiny. No intelligent man believes that the standards in the minds of our

forefathers have been even remotely materialized in their State and Federal governments.

Since then that progress which is revolutionary and mighty in its sweep, is tortuously slow, the unbiased observer can only experience amazement unqualified at the steps we have attained toward our ultimate goal. We have clashed with those most stubborn foes of construction and reform—prejudice, ignorance, intolerance—within and without the walls of the Farmers' Union. We have sustained their determined assaults not for just one moment, one hour, one day, one year, or ten years. But we have met them, fierce, determined, and resourceful every waking and sleeping second since our organization. Thousands upon thousands of the most cunning, crafty, and plausible people in this country have seen their easy prosperity threatened by the onward sweep of this order. They have opposed it openly and covertly before legislatures, at our conventions, before Congress, in the very secret executive sessions of our local meetings. They have opposed it with wile, bribe, with the effusiveness of alleged friendship and the bulldog tenacity of outright animosity. They have been ready, if I may be allowed an extreme phrase, almost to mortgage their souls to perdition, if thereby they might strangle our purposes before they have gained strength to stand on their own support.

That these desperate and systematic attempts have failed is due to the vigilance, purity, and incorruptibility of the men who have been associated with the move. I will acknowledge that the fight has been a hard one. Traitor after traitor has been exposed and expelled. The mask has been torn from lying faces of alleged friend after friend. Politicians, publicists in high places, have been brought low, caught in the act of infamy toward men whom they had cunningly cajoled into elevating them into power. I do not say that the purging is as yet complete. I would not be surprised if tomorrow some man or men to whom your eyes now turn in unquestioning confidence and esteem, shall not be retired to harmless obscurity for some active or premeditated villainy. Remember that we have a floating membership nearly always aggregating three million members. In this stupendous host it is inevitable that there should be some rottenness here and there. Take any one of the great religious denominations and you will find the same condition. Until man takes on immortality, and his thoughts as well as his features follow the delineaments of his Maker, there will always be weakness and error and susceptibility.

I have here outlined at some length the general principles of the Farmers' Union. Of our fundamental aims most men are aware. The title itself, both educational and coöperative, is a clue to the salient designs of the order. Our first thought, whether planning campaigns, in the daily monotonous grind, in victory, defeat, with the young man, with the old man, is education. Nor do I mean merely academic education. Our teaching is not restricted to text-books. We realize more keenly than any of our self-constituted guardians, the primal necessity of scientific training and instruction. We know that the farmer has fallen leagues behind the other professions because he did not realize these facts; because he contented himself with following blindly in the footsteps of his ancestors. We revere our forefathers. We will never forget the debt of gratitude which we owe their bravery; the intellect and the inheritance of pure ideals which they handed down to us. But we recognize that if we would comply with the unavoidable test of the survival of the fittest, we must improve upon their methods even as they improved upon the methods of their forbears.

The appreciation of these conditions means that we are enthusiastic advocates of ample, inclusive, generous education. It means that we make the text-book go hand in hand with experiment and with demonstration; it means that we are alive to the unwritten possibilities of the soil; it means that we expect to coin those possibilities into assets with persistent, untiring, and broad-visioned education.

We have accomplished much, too, toward the compassing of these ends. Our influence is seen in primary, secondary, and agricultural colleges in many of the Southern States. We do not confine our propaganda to the schoolroom. Every local meeting considers educational subjects, and the oldest and the youngest member is not only encouraged to express himself with regard to his individual experience, but he is also given to understand that indifference to it spells stagnation and financial loss. Each State organization is well supplied with lecturers, men of tested ability, who canvass every county once and sometimes thrice a year with agricultural topics as their theme. Experience meetings are advised and encouraged. Suggestions are welcomed at State and National headquarters. Ever and always the endeavor is to make each member feel a proprietary interest in the organization.

The coöperative feature is made to minister to our aims in equal measure with its educational twin. Whenever two or three or two or three hundred or two or three thousand of our members

are gathered together, the pith of the idea of coöperation is strikingly impressed upon them. They are told again and again the story of the man and his sons and the sticks. You will remember that that man, according to Aesop, I think, had seven violent, disagreeable, and inharmonious sons. They were perpetually pulling at cross purposes. Nothing they did came to a successful issue. The wise old father saw their days ending in poverty. He called them together, gave them a fatherly talk as I have dozens of times given to our members, and prophesied their finish unless they amended their ways. He then took up seven sticks. One by one he broke them easily over his knee. He then brought forth seven more, and tied them securely in one bundle; the combined force of himself and his sons did not avail to rend apart that reinforced pillow of endurance and strength. They caught the significance in a twinkling. I assume the current of their lives was completely turned about. At least I hope so, for similar endeavors have actuated my policy toward quarreling, warring, and cantankerous members of the Union.

Elsewhere the reader will find details of the conspicuous co-operative movement of the order. I consider that they prophesy merely the beginnings of our mission.

Here I have tried to set forth, with as much plainness and simplicity as the subject allowed, the reason underlying the formation of the Farmers' Union. The great, basic purposes running like giant arteries through its structure. I maintain that the need for this organization is today more compelling, more obvious and wider spread than ever in its history. I maintain that for the old foes we have conquered, a dozen new ones have sprung up, more vigorous, more alert, more determined, and with larger empire for their efforts than in the worst of the old days. I maintain that we have but merely fired the opening gun; that the mightiest, the most decisive, and the most destructive battles are yet to be waged. I maintain that the salvation, financial, moral, and industrial, of the farmer of this country is indissolubly bound up with the fate of the Farmers' Union. I maintain that the lessening of our energy, a decrease in our ranks, the depleting of our resolute concentration, open the gap to a score of corporate, political, and industrial enemies, with the hunger and blood-lust of the ravening wolf. I maintain that, at bottom, the best and most substantial of this country are warm in their sympathy with us, but that we must justify their faith, and reward their support with steadfastness and fidelity to them and to ourselves.

The men, the women, and the children for whose welfare today and tomorrow the infinite travail of this labor has been undertaken, are the clothiers, the feeders, the last hope of the American nation. Upon their cleanliness of motive and quickness of mind, their loftiness of soul, hinges the dimensions of our destiny. Their degradation means the failure of America, the failure to realize to the uttermost those sublime principles that make this country the haven for the desolate and the oppressed of all lands at all times. From their roughness, their rude power, their genius for undaunted endurance, comes the strength of those overwhelming impulses that set America as upon a mountain top in civilization.

CHAPTER II.

THE DYKE, THE MOLES, AND THE FARMERS' UNION.

THE old Father of Waters, the Mississippi River, typifies the strength, the relentless, and the evil of human life and of human activity. Rising in the little obscure lake, Itaska, in the northern wilderness, it trickles down prairie levels and mountain hill sides until it gains a sweep that will not be gainsaid, a force that has never been estimated, and a dignity that is a vast word in the awful sublimity of nature. It bears on its rolling breast the fleets of commerce and the bobbling craft of pleasure. It slips past towns that merely dot the desert, and towns that send interrogation points of an hundred spires toward bending skies. On its vast expanse have occurred the many tragedies and the many comedies, the many farces and the many heroisms that make life endurable.

Its power for good and for evil are limitless. In times gone by it has risen up in its might and blotted out cities as a magician crushes the flimsy articles of his own creation. Men loved it, but they grow also to fear it. They learned to distrust it. They knew it could woo, could fondle, could caress with the tenderness of a lover; and it could ravage, slay, and annihilate with the ruthlessness of a demon incarnate. After it had laid claim to lives innumerable, and property beyond estimate, they sought to set a bound to its capacity for mischief.

They built up dykes, levee is the argot for it, so that when floods descended and rain deluged, the river would not forget its staid and beautiful duties for the frivolities of a murderous frolic.

These dykes are broad and high. Men could ride abreast on them or pitch their tents upon their generous surface. They are strong and durable. They are made to resist violence. They are created to anticipate the unexpected. Unless a river that they enclose develops unwonted determination, they will hold its powers for good and for deviltry fast in leash.

We have built up dykes around the Farmers' Union. They also are firm and broad. They also are meant to restrict its pur-

poses and concentrate its aims into a definite and preconceived channel. They are meant to withstand siege; when floods come they are fashioned for resistance. When rains beat they stand sturdy and unyielding. They do not budge one inch from impact, whether great or feeble.

They keep the current of the life of this organization clear and swift and direct, escorting it over obstacles that line the pathway and giving it impetus.

There are foes within and without these dykes of the Mississippi. They may be the greedy and searching teeth of the current itself. They may be homesteaders on the land side, cultivating the acres so carelessly as to undermine the levee.

But in the vast majority of cases they are little insidious, burrowing moles, hardly visible to the naked eye. These moles, all unknown to the watchers or at least to those unskilled in their ways, are perpetually gnawing holes and pathways, and removing dirt which may ultimately cause the entire mighty substance to crumble and let in the disastrous flood.

There are moles within and without the dykes of the Farmers' Union. Now our motive understood, at the outset, that our ranks contain some of the noblest and purest hearted and ablest men in the country. They also contain some of the grandest, shrewdest, and most consummate villains who have managed to escape the penitentiary. For one hundred of our members who do not know the meaning of a lie, there is at least one who could give the devil cards and spades and beat him hand running. They have Ananias hopelessly distanced. They make Machiavelli, whose sinister motto was "that the end justifies the means," seem like a cooing babe. One reason they are not today wearing ball, chain, and stripes is that they can run just a little faster than the detective and the sheriff.

They are the moles within the organization, and they have able and willing assistants on the outside, who are not only mole-like in their nature and operations, but oftentimes resemble as well the jackal and the lion. Some of them are politicians, running the gamut from governors, governors-elect, senators, representatives, and heads of governmental departments, to candidates for dogcatcher. A good many of them, the majority perhaps, are scheming business men. You might call them the modern pirates of commerce. They are as cruel, a great deal more cunning, I will admit braver, and equally as resourceful as the black-bearded gentry under Hawke and Kidd, who terrorized the seas for so many years. In one respect they recall the lillies of the field. If

they can arrange it that way, they care not to toil or spin. But you may make up your mind that the gladness of their raiment and the oiliness of their faces put to blush the late lamented Solomon. They have made up their minds, these men, that the "suckers" are to pay the freight. They are anxious and able to move the heavens above, the earth beneath, and the waters under the earth to compass this and other ends. They do not balk at perjury. Falsification they have made into a fine art. Dishonesty they believe to be the best policy. And as far as brains are concerned, they can command in their own presence, or through their purses, the ablest talent in the nation.

The Farmers' Union is unquestionably the most fertile and promising field in the country for these classes of vultures. I have stated in the opening chapter that our people, when properly approached, are the most fatally confiding customers in creation. Also we have never quite recovered from that verdant trait that causes a few of us to buy gold bricks or to blow out the gas. The farmer, above all men, loves a glib tongue, a hearty hand-clasp, and a solicitous inquiry about the health of himself, Maria, and the boys. More politicians have won high station by kissing babies that were not strong enough to offer resistance than through any other means. You have often seen the vote-grabber who makes it his business to know the name of every man, woman, child, and their twenty-third cousin in his district. When he meets one of them he has at the tip of his tongue some little pertinent question regarding their personal affairs. He looks into the eyes of his victim with that moist gaze and that sunny smile that would ripen peaches at the north pole—and you can bet your last red cent that Bill or John or Henry is that man's friend and supporter to the end of his natural days.

If these comparatively harmless methods are effective in everyday polities, just imagine them applied with multiplied force to dealings with our members. The politician with any right to that title, realizes the numerical strength of the Union in every State and locality. He knows quite well that its vote may hold the balance of power in a close election. Therefore, it is up to him to cultivate the Farmers' Union. He does it; I was tempted to say, he does them. It frequently amounts to that in the long run.

A candidate for office may not know more than one or two men in a given district, and what I have said and am saying applies to farmers generally as well as to members of our order. If this gentleman in search of a job knows that there is to be a gathering of any number of farmers in any given cross-roads

store or town or village, he makes it his business to be "Johnny-on-the-spot." He has never tried to make the acquaintance of the honest, productive, quiet, and matter-of-fact men in the community. His purpose has been accomplished when he knows the weaknesses and the susceptibilities of the men sharp enough and flannel-mouthed enough to lead their neighbors around by the nose. So he confers with his keen-witted and obliging friends just before the meeting is called to order. He finds out, not the good, the progressive, or the highest hopes and ambitions of those on whom he is about to descend with the fury of a tornado, but he does find out just what will appeal to their hatreds, what will inflame their prejudices, and what will bend their passions into a current making for his own selfish ends. And he utilizes his knowledge, however acquired, to the limit. Artfully he harangues the mob, with guileful skill he plays on their worst emotions as deitly as the musician who calls into throbbing response every cord of the harp.

He hypnotizes them into believing that they are the most abused, the most pillaged, the most put-upon men in history. He magnifies some little two-by-four local issue into a question of life and death. When they have been under his counterfeit eloquence for a few minutes they are prepared to believe that he is the one and only Moses who can lead them out of the wilderness. He tells them that they are the backbone of the country. He never refers to the fact that the backbone sometimes develops curvature of the spine. He never warns them kindly and with the best intention that some of the vertebrae may be rotten or misplaced. O no. They are the salt of the earth. They and the king can do no wrong, and he won't let the "goblins git them" if they will just make him head chicken thief or any other exalted officer which he may outline.

And yet people wonder, and the press ignorantly raves at the conquest of the demagogue. They rebuke the credulous farmer who so easily falls into his clutches. They rant about hypocrisy; they clamor for sanity, justice, and conservatism. They never once realize that as long as the status of sentiment continues at its present level, that the political Ananias and the commercial demagogue will have things all his own way with the masses of the farmers. We are improving. We are gradually learning to distinguish wolves when they come in sheep's clothing. Day by day we are gaining greater ability to discern the braying ass under the skin of the lion. And yet we are finding, from the most bitter and galling of experiences, that promises are not always

made in good faith, and that frequently they are but the bait with which to catch fools. Niagara Falls did not happen in a day. The French Revolution was not compassed over night. Time and then time again. Patience and endurance intensified, education and the habit of keeping our eyes open will be the heralds for our eventual deliverance. Perhaps the day will not dawn on us; but as surely as smoke rises, and as mankind never remains stationary, we can anticipate the moment when the demagogue, the schemer, and the traitor will cease his conjuror's villainy.

These are some of the types with whom the responsible officials of the Union, myself included, have had to do hourly and daily battle since the very beginning. We have grown old enough and wise enough to have them labeled. We are acquainted with their habits. We know where next they will bob up. We know almost to a syllable the arguments they will use. We know just exactly what ends they are striving to gain. We know, too, how they will retard progress, what miserably inferior servants they will make, and how they will hamstring ambitions and development of our own members. When they apply for membership, you can believe that we urge them to pass on. If they become active outside the ranks, there is always some one of our leaders capable of keeping the eyes of the boys open. Of course, we cannot altogether prevent their deadly work. Our members are not all angels, or even of unusual intelligence, and some of them claim the right to play the fool in their own way. The point I particularly wanted to stress was the everlasting strain it is on the executive officials to safeguard the members from these cormorants.

Speaking of cormorants leads me to the sort of moles, jackals, and near lions who assail the Farmers' Union from without, that will have to be watched and shadowed much more persistently than even Mr. Roosevelt's prized gum shoes. It may be that these sharks have something that they want to sell that is below par, that is in itself worthless, or that can be bought at any country grocery for half the price. They have the effrontery, often as not, to seek our endorsement, and I have even known some of them to forge my name or to knowingly misconstrue a harmless pleasantry into an advertisement of their cheap wares.

Another brand of schemers more daring, more expert, more damnable and wealthier, are those who plot and manipulate either to affect the size of our crops, or to beat down the market prices for them. I have known them to send smooth-tongued scoundrels into every State in which we were organized, preaching dissension, and straining heaven and earth to nullify the advice from



STATE OFFICIALS, TEXAS DIVISION.

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| 1. D. J. NEILL, State President. | 3. J. P. LANE, Vice President. |
| 2. JOE E. EDMONSON, State Organizer. | 4. C. SMITH, State Secretary Treasurer. |
| 5. TOM B. TAYLOR, Assistant State Lecturer. | |

headquarters. I have known them, both from abroad and living in the very town and county of their operations, to bring pressure to bear on individual merchants to withhold credit from certain farmers, to foreclose mortgages in specific directions, if thereby they might work on a temporarily embarrassed farmer and make just a little inroad upon the organization.

They do not confine themselves even to this species of hell's play. If, perchance, the crops and the farmer have survived their machinations, operations are transferred to the press and dailies, weeklies and the regular magazines are flooded with advertisements, sometimes illustrated, and always worded with the most devilish ingenuity, arguing that the crop is either a "bumper" or that some weather condition will affect it so as to lower possible prices. Their finest work is done, and their heavy artillery comes into action when they see that fortune and organization have fought on the side of the farmer, and that he is going to conquer, *nolens volens*. Then it is that they begin a campaign in which they strive by every conceivable artifice to make producers hurry their commodities to the market. It is immaterial to them if such action precipitates a congestion that will knock the bottom out of prices. It is immaterial to them if they are fooling the farmer into selling for about one-third what he would get by holding.

The farmer they view as their natural enemy, a fatally easy enemy, and they are after his scalp regardless.

If these foes from the outside were all we had to contend with, the problem of keeping the dykes firm would be relatively a simple one, but they are merely the beginning, the branded antagonist whom we learn to know and combat after a while. The more dangerous, the more contemptible, the more difficult of dislodgement are the foes who masquerade in the guise of loyal friends, and who solemnly take oath of membership with the firm intention to violate it if their interest is thereby served. I am loathe to state that there are traitors in the Farmers' Union, but since what I am writing is history, and since the first ingredient of history is truth, and since truth does not contemplate disquising the odor of the skunk, I feel it my duty to speak plainly as in the house of brothers.

If you go into any convention of bankers, or manufacturers, or any variety of business men, you will find the most perfect coöperation, once a given plan has been adopted. There may be all sorts of dissension, debate, and acrimonious bickering before a certain subject is thoroughly threshed out. But when every

man present, down to the humblest delegate, has had his say, and when the collective wisdom of the assembly has decided on a given course, I challenge you to find many instances wherein the members do not abide by the policy thus fixed. Such men are, of course, as full of self-interest as any number of farmers can possibly be. It is undoubted, too, that they each have their pet theories regarding business progress and methods, but they have long ago arrived at the knowledge, for which they do and have to pay a heavy price, that nothing whatever worth while can be accomplished save by united endeavor and self-effacing harmony.

Compare this well-ordered march of events to the procedure which rules farmers' organizations. You will at once detect a radical difference. To begin with, the farmer is not an adept in business of any sort. As I have intimated already, centuries of isolation and oppression have warped his commercial instincts and narrowed his mental horizon. In the second place, he has not the genius for coöperation possessed by the business man. He has yet to realize, and he must be made to realize by knock down and drag out lessons, its indispensable necessity. You can get farmers in any convention, and in any numbers to agree to the most impossible and impracticable schemes. Their imaginations and perhaps their avarice, a trait which they have in common with the remainder of the race, run away with them. On the other hand, you may interest them in a perfectly worthy plan, one which promises well to their moral and material interests, and which they have seen successfully tried in their own experiences. They may determine most enthusiastically to adopt and prosecute such a plan. If they carry out their intention and their pledges it is because their leaders are constantly behind them with the reminders.

These statements are no libel upon our members or farmers generally. I freely offer to retract them if any man will logically point out to me that they are not a faithful reflection of one of the most damaging traits of our people.

The vulture from without, I should like to call him a buzzard, works his way by schemes that are many and underground. His motive invariably is either self-interest or revenge. It may be that he has on hand some carefully nourished design which is framed to prey on his fellow members. It may be that he is the disguised ally of trusts, of cotton exchanges, or other antagonistic interests, who have charged him with the mission of breaking up the organization from within. One of the most frequent incentives of the traitor is personal vindictiveness. I have met

any number of this class in my individual experience; I meet others every day.

It happens that occasionally I find incompetent or dishonest or scheming officials in high places. It is then my sworn duty to degrade them from the elect into mere membership or to call for their expulsion, according to the gravity of the offense. Such men are of course only human. A few of them take the reprimand sensibly, and seek to amend their indolence or their evil ways. The majority of them are turned into venomous dislikers of myself, and feudists against the life of the Farmers' Union. They do not hesitate at any step to achieve my embarrassment or to put a block in the wheel of the order.

This vermin does not dare attack the principles or purposes of the Farmers' Union. They are entirely too sharp for that. But they slip around after night through back alleys and sow poisonous doubts regarding the honesty and integrity of the officials.

They will declare that such and such a man is receiving too much. They will keep tally with the fees paid into certain locals, and of the appropriations made for such purposes, and then insinuate to all who will listen to them that the money has not been properly accounted for by those in authority.

They are also always loaded to the brim with doleful tales of failures of similar organizations; with unfounded statements that the Farmers' Union is following a course of like peril. Every contemptible little knock; every tiny flame of dissatisfaction; every personal divergence they seek to increase and magnify into threatening disruption. If they know a man who has a personal grievance against an important or a small officer, they take great pains to make him believe that his grievance is even more just than he has already imagined. At every turn they sow distrust in officials and disbelief in the ability of the Union itself. No man, however pure and consecrated, is safe from their calumnies. No point is too small or too trivial to be ignored by their serpentine venom.

I could call by name Satan's roster of these traitors and little pee wee plotters, and I assure you that if I did a howl of surprise would go up from one end of the Union to the other. But I long ago made up my mind that until a man's animosity flagrantly jeopardized the order itself, I would not permit private pique to dictate my actions.

Time after time, in open meetings, in the presence of the most prominent men in the Union, I have challenged, I have pleaded with men who might find fault with my policies or with

the policies for the direction of which I am responsible, to rise up, state their cases, and produce their evidence.

Never yet, not one time, in my experience, has this challenge ever been accepted. Yet the work of burrowing, of back-biting, and of ruinous slander does not cease. I am telling you these facts in plain frankness, not because they are extremely frequent, but because I am convinced you should know the conditions with which any organization of this nature must contend.

Another favorite device of these sons of Belial is to attack from ambush the "soft snaps" and "fat cinches" of the officials. They very skillfully appeal to the intelligence and the conceit of members. They will say, "Why just look at that fellow! He is not any smarter than you are, and yet you pay him \$5.00 a day, the idea, \$5.00 a day! Why you sweat in the sun and shiver in the cold and rise at the crack of day, and you do not make nearly that much. Why should he not be satisfied to work for what you do if he has the welfare of the Union so closely at heart?"

If I could write this paragraph in embossed and raised letters of fire, I could not drive this point far enough home with the members of the Farmers' Union. Brethren, it takes money to buy brains now-a-days. They are the rarest and most expensive commodity on the market. Brains are what make a success of the trusts, of politicians, and of every factor that has ground down the farmer through history, including kings and swindlers. We have as brainy men in our ranks as any body of equal proportions. We can find leaders able enough to fight our battles and to fence with the most subtle of enemies if we are willing to pay them the price.

Which is the rarer: the talent of the faithful soldier, or the talent of the able commander? There was but one Napoleon. There was but one Cæsar. There was but one George Washington. There was but one Robert E. Lee. There was but one Newt Gresham.

There is in every age about one man capable of conceiving and of executing, to one hundred thousand men capable of carrying out his spreading designs. You have got to cuddle these truths in your heart of hearts if you expect to make a lasting success of this or any other farmers' organization. The fact that you are slow to believe them is one factor that has militated most strongly against progress in the past.

Another ominously weak point in the character of the farmer, one which is to this day causing us individuals trouble in our plans for advancement, is that of personal friendship. When we

propose to merge a system of warehouses, or to form a central committee, or to fight immigration, or to encourage the consumption of additional cotton, or to cut down the acreage, we need, of course, qualified men and committees to discharge these important functions. In every instance I am besieged to appoint men not on the basis of intellectual or business qualifications, but most frequently on that of rank favoritism. Because Bill Jones is a good fellow, a good hand-shaker, a cheerful smiler, he should be the head of such and such a committee, or he should be provided some kind of soft berth. Because Tom Jenkins, or Tom anybody else, may have promised to use his influence to vote for Mr. A, Mr. B, or Mr. C, for coroner or flea catcher, I am importuned to boost him to a certain position.

It rarely occurs to our people that business men and business organizations achieve success by choosing their workmen on merit alone. Until we adopt that system we must expect to have the work of companies and of committees either undone or obstructed by incompetent or by designing schemers.

Another mania that afflicts the farmer is the brain-storm of "locality." Unless every dog track in a certain county or certain State has "representation" on certain boards, many of our friends are ready to predict all sorts of dire failure or to cultivate a first-class case of ingrowing sulks. I maintain, and I always have maintained, that with representation the ability to flatter and jolly have nothing whatever to do with the requirements for service. Always and ever it is merit, merit, merit.

You will have seen by this time my reason in heading the chapter as I did. I have attempted to show the broad, sweeping purposes of the Farmers' Union, the dykes that hold the current fast to its task, and that must be made to resist the burrowers inside and out. One other fact is worthy of consideration by the humblest member who hopes to be of use in our great future. It concerns leadership. I am firmly of the opinion that while this organization has a tremendous destiny, that it also will have its martyrs. As long as farmers refuse to realize the importance of adequately compensating their commanders, large and small, and as long as they continue to bicker among themselves and to invite bickerings from without, the men at the head will catch showers of dynamite from every point of the compass. Ten years from now this organization will, if we guard our fences (and pick our leaders intelligently), be even more emphatically than now the most powerful in all history; but there will be a long list of prematurely dead men in its wake. Eternal vigilance is the price of

your progress. The leaders who would serve you conscientiously must never sleep. Every faculty must be alert, each moment they are serving. They must be prepared for attacks which they can anticipate, and for attacks which they cannot anticipate. The duties of leadership are sufficient to craze the strongest mind. Never in history has there been a gathering so unwieldy in numbers and so diverse in membership as this one. The task of guiding it and of meeting each separate emergency has developed a class of leadership unique in civilization. There are plenty of men who can command soldiers, sailors, clerks, and policemen. I know of very few that can command farmers, and I look for those few to die several years before their time.

When they do shuffle off this mortal coil, there may be several persons who will appreciate what they have done and what they have overcome, but the vast majority will themselves go to their own graves thinking that some one man has been overpaid, or that he lived to gain his selfish ends.

The men who come after me will find that much pioneer work has been done in the way of farmers organizations. We have succeeded in organizing the most isolated and most suspicious of our population into something approaching effectiveness, but the larger victories are yet unrecorded.

The dykes of the future must be even broader and even higher. Where now plain earth is sufficient, tomorrow will witness the use of masonry. Soldiers will be stationed along the borders to arrest or shoot down those who seek to let in the flood from within or without. Traps that are stronger and firmer jawed than the traps of today will be fashioned to catch the gnawing moles. The current will grow deeper. It will grow wider. It will bear more splendid argosies upon its bosom. It will flash past cities in which are hosts of men and women and children yet unborn. The lights glimmering from its surface will bring hope and inspiration and comfort to millions yet to see the good green of God's earth.

We who occupy the places of command today, have merely fought the first battles. Abler generals and larger hosts will come tomorrow. Already the man whose imagination is touched with soul can hear the far,distant rumble of their trampling feet.

CHAPTER III.

THE WATCHER ON THE TOWER.

THE man who watches from the tower sees more than he who navigates the sea or fights the battles of the acres. Standing in the watch-tower of the Farmers' Union, I can see many things that our membership will need to learn today before they will realize the dreams of tomorrow. They will need first of all to learn patience. I have stressed in previous chapters its primal necessity, but these words I wish you would keep and paste above your mantels and study them prayerfully every day.

The speculators and gamblers in the various cotton exchanges are among our most powerful foes, but they required years of experience, of work, and of vigilance to gain their present supremacy.

So we, too, need to learn patience. We need to learn that labor is not all of life; that monotony is an arch enemy to growth and happiness. The old saw has it that "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." It not only makes Jack a dull boy, thereby taking money out of his pocket, but it is likely to make him a bad boy, getting him a good spanking from those whose business it is to administer laws. Your wives and your children deserve a square deal, even if you have not yourself had one. Get them magazines; get them books; subscribe to the weekly or tri-weekly newspaper; do a man's part, and not a drone's, in improving the rural route in front of your door; give them facilities to get to church, to small social gatherings, and to school, and see that they use them. Isolation and loneliness are today the greatest inimical influences we have to combat. We are necessarily a gregarious people. We need to rub elbows. We need lightness and sweetness and inspiration and beauty in our lives. Unless we get them we will never develop into the full statue of God-like proportions. We need, too, I think at times to go more into politics. By that I do not mean selfish, inflammatory, partisan politics. Such has been the bane of similar organizations in the past.

But we do need to sift out men and sift out candidates relentlessly as to their interest and their mental qualifications, and to support only those who measure up to an exacting standard, and whom we are quite sure will take care of our interests. We need to impress our force as a cohesive fighting unit upon the politicians of this country. They now fawn upon us and feed us with honeyed words and phrases. They must be shown that what we demand is not verbage, but performance.

Loyalty, also, is one of our great needs. The man who gives grudging allegiance to his superior in the organization is simply putting a brake on his own advancement. If you disagree with our principles you have no business to affiliate with us. If you disagree with our leaders, get up and make your complaint manfully and honorably. If they are guilty of corruption, impeach them. If they are incompetent, show them up and demand their retirement. But if you cannot lay a finger on any point of frailty, you have no business to cause dissatisfaction in others and to impede the cause with unreasonable and constant grumblings. Our foes are united and loyal to each other to the death. If we expect to win, we should obey our motto.

We need also to acquaint ourselves with the value of business methods. The farmer is the first man on earth to suffer from slip-shod rules and failure to observe system. His is the most tremendous and the most vital producing business in the world, and it is regulated in the most aimless manner. Until we realize that ours is as much a profession and as hard to learn and as difficult to prosecute as that of the doctor or lawyer and the merchant, we will not record the profit and the development we have a right to expect. And what is more to the point, our neighbors will continue to refuse to take us seriously.

No one denies that the foundation of all prosperity hinges on the fruit of the soil. Every great fortune, every giant trust has drawn its power from the soil. Failure of the farmer means the crashing fall of the other. Survey for a moment the great prosperity and riches of the country—the great railroads, the powerful newspapers, the huge factories, the mighty commercial houses. Did you ever stop to think that if the work of the farmer stopped for even a season that railroads would rest in idleness, newspapers would stop, factory wheels would cease, and commercial life would lie palsied?

Yet, if this superstructure of potential power, greatness and riches has been builded upon the endeavor of the tiller of the soil as now administered, with slip-shod methods, utter disregard for

system and business-like conduct, think what this country would be if the farmer applied method and system to his own business. Why, his fields would bloom and fruit with rich harvests, and a steady stream of riches would pour into his own hands. And upon his added power and productiveness this country would come upon an era of such greatness, such riches, as the world's history has never recorded.

Opposition to organization of farmers by other business interests is, in my calm judgment, a mistaken policy. That organization among them will survive the mutations of time and all opposition is as certain as destiny. The history of agricultural movements in this country for the past third of a century should drive this fact home to every thinking man. Each movement toward organization has moved over slow and tortuous ways at times. Many have crumbled and fallen, from causes both within and without, but each time the world has seen a stronger organization spring from the ruins.

The thinking processes of the mass of farmers are slow. He is hard to arouse, and his isolation has begotten in him a spirit of fighting his own battles, however futile his campaign may be. It is the outgrowth of pioneer movements. Farmers have been the outposts in every inch of territory wrested from savage hands. He has blazed the way through impenetrable forests, has stood guard over his home and family with gun to ward off savage men and savage beasts. Higher civilization followed the trail he blazed, the way he had made safe.

Is it, then, any wonder that he has become self-centered, independent, difficult to command, because he has been accustomed to command, and hard to bring together into compact and cohesive thinking bodies? That bold and hardy spirit of the pioneer, that old unquenchable spirit of the primal and independent man still stirs his descendants. But, finally the new demands of modern life dawned on him. He saw that the world, swift paced, had distanced him, because it stood shoulder to shoulder, back to back, to fight. He saw that things were accomplished through compact organization of forces. He saw that weak men were made strong because they were upheld by others. And seeing, a new light dawned on him. The laws of self-preservation stirred within him. He saw that the old days had vanished, and that a new era had come. Then he organized. It was crude, mayhap, futile in most things, but it was a drift in the right direction. That old spirit of individual initiative was still rampant in him. He wanted to lead, but was loathe to be

led. So, of course, artful and designing men thrust in, and the organization tumbled. So it has gone on and on, but each successive step has seen bigger and better advances. He has learned much, and still has far from completed his education.

Temperamentally the farmer is slow to think, slow to anger, slow to see that he is the unconscious instrument of selfish men. But after while he thinks, and he sees that he is and has been wronged. He has a white-hot flame of rage, and then he is dangerous—dangerous not in the sense of physical utterance of rage, but he knows some one has not treated him well. Then he rises up in passion, and like an angered bull, charges at the first object within range. Many men in this country, once great and powerful in the nation's counsels, could tell you what his rage means, because they have been, sometimes rightfully, sometimes wrongfully, the victims of these passions. The individuals rush together in compact bodies, and something and somebody suffers. Then, business interests in a mistaken sense, politicians seeking selfish ends, destroy this organization. Back to his isolation and his loneliness goes the farmer, until he is again aroused to swift and terrible action.

And this brings me around to the meat in the kernel. If the farmer is permanently organized into helpful bodies he at last becomes conservative. The flames of sudden anger, righteous anger, too, very often, do not come upon him. He works steadily and soberly to right his wrongs, to better his condition, and to accomplish his ends. He realizes that swift and burning anger is a waste, and that it does not always reach the right object. He comes to lean upon the matured and sound judgment of his leaders. His natural suspicion of everything and everybody is allayed. He comes to know that there are other men with wrongs as deep as his, who move slowly, surely, without passion, and inexorably toward definite reforms. Organization becomes his balance wheel, for he knows that the mass can reach what the individual cannot. His judgment rounds out, his passion flames cool, he comes to believe in the common sense of others.

These, to my mind, form clear and cogent reasons why farmers organization should receive the encouragement and help of every other business. It is to the interest of the whole people financially, socially, and morally to foster the Union. In doing so the possibility of class being arrayed against class is minimized. Danger from swift and sudden heats of wrath are lessened. Fewer men would have cause or reason to fear and hate the farmer for his volatile protests against wrongs.

We have within our own making a destiny that baffles speculation. We can only attain it from our own endeavors.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FARMER MUST GO INTO POLITICS.

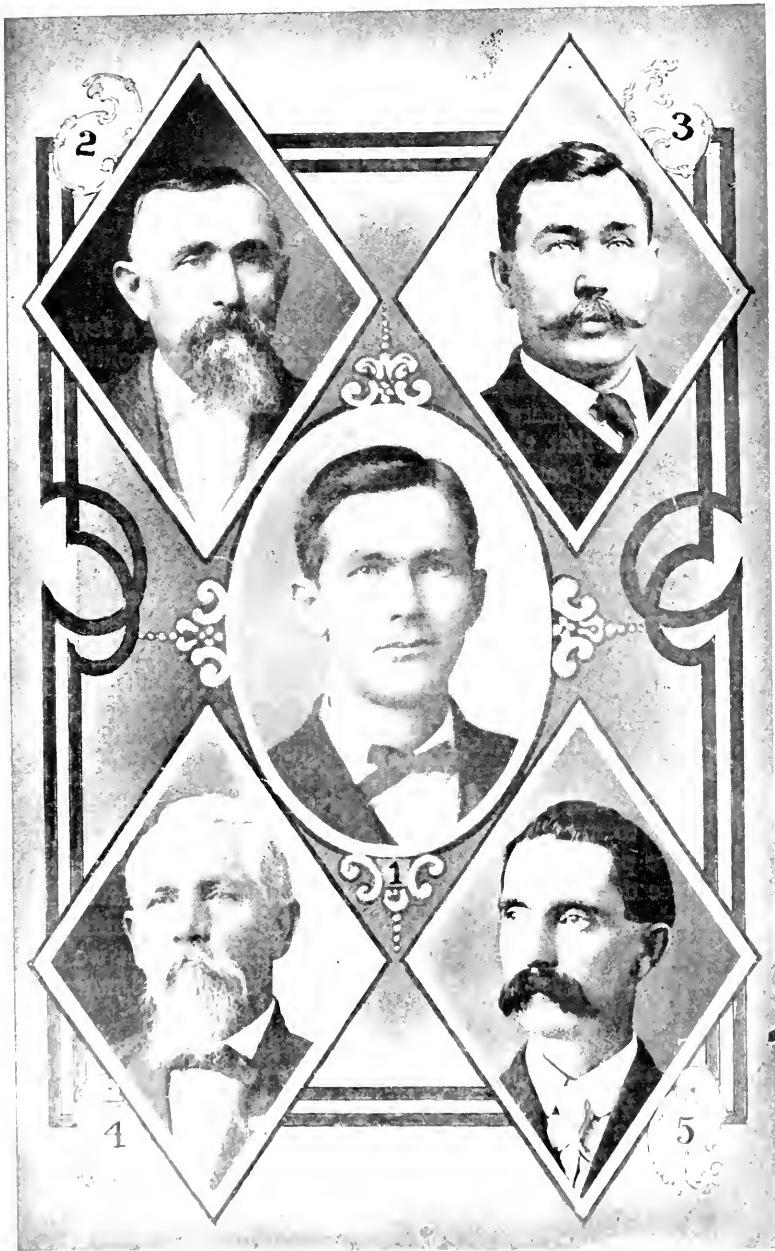
I AM going to deliberately court the holy horror of a few hundred "I told-you-sos." The farmer must go into politics, and when I say the farmer, it necessarily follows that I mean, to an extent, the Farmers' Union.

I am aware that this attitude is at radical variance with the old, settled, and conventional opinion on the subject. In years past the very word "politics," as applied to the farmer as a class, has been enough to set every dog in the country howling. The time has come, however, when we must utterly disregard kind and benevolent advice from our would-be friends, free and unlimited counsel from our would-be saviors, and use the horse sense with which the Almighty has endowed us. The dictates of that horse sense point our entrance into the field of political activity if we would take practical and not oratorical steps toward the materialization of our mission.

It should be understood that there is a wide divergence between politics and partisanry. The first I advocate, the second I will oppose to my dying day.

We have passed, at many conventions, resolutions of an iron-clad nature declaring our position on this issue. We have made it as much as the membership of a man is worth to embark in partisan polities while associated with the Union. What we need is to select only those men of demonstrated mental and moral fitness.

That is not partisan politics. It is business politics, and the plainest sort of self-preservation. Every corporation and big business of every description is today in politics. You cannot point me to a single industry in this country, save that of the farmer, which has not accredited representatives in Congress and in the large conventions that meet to determine party nominees every two or every four years. You will remember that even our organized labor friends sent powerful delegates both to the Chicago and Denver conventions last year. A plank of their fram-



STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, TEXAS DIVISION.

1. J. E. MONTGOMERY, Chairman.

2. H. LAAS.

3. M. C. MCKONKEY.

4. J. A. WHEELER.

5. J. C. ALBRITTON.

ing was inserted in the Democratic platform and became the bone of contention for the entire campaign.

The farmers of the country overwhelmingly outnumber not only the laboring but the business classes. In the face of this plain fact, and in the face of the fact that the farmers' interests are more urgent than either of these other two, and that those interests are more intimately bound up, not only in the welfare of the business man, but of the country at large, he has little or no voice in the organized polities of today.

This is a farcical and a most injurious paradox. Its significance is that as far as concentrated efforts are concerned, sixty per cent of the population of this country is tied hand and foot.

Just let that soak gently into your mind—sixty per cent!

It is my belief that until this inequality is remedied we will be fatally handicapped in pushing for our legitimate ends. The demagogue and the politician may rave to their heart's content about their friendship for the farmer. They may tell him, and swear to it on a stack of Bibles as high as Pikes Peak, that they will fight this or that measure to legislation.

But as long as they know that that man is not shooting at them with thousands of well trained ballots, you can bet your last penny that the way for lies and evasions and subterfuges and broken promises will be left open.

The sharp-shooter sitting on an isolated tree near the outposts of the enemy can accomplish little or no good. He may pick off a straggler here and there, but it is not his rifle that wins battles or wars. It is the combined rifle fire of thousands of men, concentrated into drilled regiments, directed by generals who know their business and who know alike the weakness and the strength of the enemy.

This is precisely what "going into politics" means for the farmer. What is the use of preaching the wisdom of voting for the right man, when some fool or knave or blockhead in the next county may kill your vote? What is the use of tearing our shirts over principles and policies unless we are going to put a sweeping and irresistible volley of votes back of those principles?

The ballot is the deadliest weapon known to modern history. Handled in the proper way we can shoot down the hypocrites and demagogues who are opposing our progress with their lying promises, or we can put into office the men whose tried worth will make sure the realization of those principles.

I leave it to any man with the ordinary supply of mother wit if what I have not been saying is not the plainest sort of common sense.

All these statements apply to local as well as to national politics. The great men and the small skunk are not confined to the national field; they are found in every militia district. The only way to impress your purpose upon them is to shoot them in the neck with the ballot. They are pretty apt to remember a wound of this character and how they came by it.

I realize, of course, that the course I have outlined presents difficulties as well as possibilities. We must use our power carefully and exact rigid honesty of the men we place in authority, if we would forestall abuse and corruption.

That much is true, however, of any army or any organization in history, and I do not think that the honest American farmer is likely to injure the country any more desperately than the trusts or other great institutions which have chosen the political road to attain their ends.

But it is settled beyond peradventure that going into politics is our sole salvation. Until we do, we will be trying to turn over the earth with a toothpick.

CHAPTER V.

COTTON, THE ABSOLUTE COMMERCIAL DESPOT OF CIVILIZATION—ITS MARKETING.

COТTON is the absolute commercial despot of civilization. It is more powerful than any monarch of history, and its influence is more overshadowing than that ever wielded by the Czar of all the Russias.

Without it, unnumbered millions of European and American laborers and their families would fall upon a speedy starvation. Without it, unnumbered millions of Christians, Mohammedans, Buddhists, black, yellow, and brown hordes that do homage to every conceivable god, would go naked, hungry, and without shelter.

The white staple is the biggest and most important ingredient in modern warfare. It has just been recognized as contraband of war by the nations. It is the principal element in the high explosives that are the chief feature of latter-day carnage; it is the substance that forms the bandages that bind the wounds of the fallen in battle, and that enabled the Japanese to create a new historical record of men saved from wounds received on the firing line.

This regal fibre enters into a thousand uses of which the average man and woman are as ignorant as are the inhabitants of Mars. It forms a part of the indispensable raiment of kings and ditch-diggers. It encloses every infant that comes with pucker'd face into the world. It shrouds every toil-worn wayfarer on his last journey toward infinity.

The cook uses its by-product in the kitchen as vegetable lard, and she herself uses it on the table too often as alleged "olive oil," when it is nothing more or less than refined cotton seed shipped back from Marseilles under a misleading label.

Every moment of the twenty-four hours enumerable masses of the world's population is in some manner paying tribute to king cotton. The world might find a substitute for corn, wheat, and iron. At least it could obtain them from other localities than the

Southern States. It could find a substance to replace wool and silk.

Cotton is the one indispensable article of civilization and of heathendom.

The Southern farmer who sweats out his life and those of his wife and his children for a weekly pittance, selling his cotton for less than it is worth to spinner and consumer, is a slave.

America boasts that she has an enormous balance on the credit side of the ledger in the matter of world trade. Cotton is all that sustains that boast. Raw cotton at that. If it were not for the millions of bales we ship across the ocean every fall and winter, the balance would be pathetically on the debit side of the ledger.

The orators and the big business men who prate so eloquently and so wisely of our international supremacy, never once give a thought to the poor devil toiling the Southern furrow to uphold that supremacy. They never consider that until those millions of outgoing bales are transformed into incalculable yards of finished product that the international supremacy of the United States will be an inglorious fiction.

The Farmers' Union regards itself as the custodian for the world of the world's greatest asset. One of our distinguishing missions is to redress inequalities of which I have spoken, and the development that confronts us at every point of the compass, and whenever and wherever the sun rises.

We have perfected plans and arrangements whereby the yield will be warehoused to a large extent in buildings owned by the Union, from which it will be fed to the market as conditions and prices make advisable.

Previously, and up to the organization of the Farmers' Union, this tremendous Southern staple had been bought and sold in a most haphazard manner.

There had been free rein for the sinister activities of gamblers and manipulators. A dozen resourceful agencies intervene between the producer and the ultimate spinner.

Providence has apparently gifted the South with a monopoly of this fibre. We raise approximately eighty per cent of the present world's supply. Attempts have been made elsewhere, systematically, by every civilized nation, and in every portion of the globe, to find an area which would supplant the Southern States. Up to the present time such efforts have not availed to cut down our advantage.

So that it is with cotton that the South levies tribute on the world. We take toll from the Britisher, the German, Johnny

Frenchman, the Spaniard, the subjects of the Czar, the Chinaman, the Cocky Jap, and the gentlemen who reside in the islands of the Pacific Ocean, and in the fastnesses of Africa, and who are clad only in a cotton collar amid ships and a sweet smile.

For one hundred years we have maintained this monopoly. It has been growing more profitable each year. It is not by any means confined in its benefits to the farmer. For it enables the farmer to pay his debts, to buy more land, to buy groceries, to buy more stock, to build houses, to buy agricultural implements, to patronize banks, and to erect his own warehouses. Figure that out step by step and you will see that the ten cents per pound the farmer gets for his cotton is shared by practically every business man, every wage earner, practically every woman and child in the Southern States.

Cotton erects a great white barrier about Dixie, and we are hoping that the Farmers' Union will eventually be able to repel from behind this barrier all of the industrial and financial foes of the South, as well as to keep at home millions upon millions of dollars now needlessly being drained by other sections.

The system recently inaugurated insures that all warehouses owned by the Union, and they are surprisingly large in number and national in location, shall be merged under one sympathetic management, and directed by one intelligent and sympathetic agency. This achievement is direct progress toward gradual marketing. It should, and doubtless will, enable us to conquer the great crises which every year confront us of congested and unprofitable markets.

The plan will ultimately contemplate the storing of enough cotton in these Union warehouses to become the balance of power in the disposal of the crop. Certificates representing a percentage of the market value of the staple will be issued to members depositing cotton. These certificates will become negotiable, and also collateral for loans and indebtedness.

When it is borne in mind that the principal reason for low prices in the past has been either the glutting of the market by foolish farmers, or the selling of the "distress" cotton by men who were compelled thus to discharge their indebtedness, it will be seen that we are working toward an extremely practical solution of this big problem. It is, moreover, a solution that works harm on no one, but which is merely a business method adopted in the West with regard to the marketing of wheat and corn.

In conjunction, of course, with this system we will maintain a corps of correspondents in Europe, in America, and in every

nation utilizing cotton. It is the business of these men, whose training has been proven, to keep us informed regarding the needs, movements, and the developments of the spinners.

The designs outlined in the foregoing are all simple and substantial business methods our people have adopted, and are adopting. We are not going to boast until we get out of the woods. But we believe that we now see our way clear to reducing the problem that has for many generations baffled and crushed the Southern planter.

In making sure that he will receive a fair return for his labor, we are working in behalf of every other interest in the South of the reigning generation as well as posterity.

CHAPTER VI.

THE AMERICAN FARMER, THE NOBLEST HANDIWORK OF THE CREATOR.

GOD in His heaven created the earth and all that therein is and saw that it was good.

The heritage of the fields and the forests, the streams and the seas, He gave into the stewardship of man made in His own image.

Man, being human, his first necessity was that of food; extremes of climate attacking him and his own modesty awakening, the next necessity was that of raiment.

These two primary factors of every-day life in every land under the sun are behind each inch of progress recorded by the human race.

We are many thousand years separated from the first men that strode with open eyes and open intelligence upon the face of the earth. Analyze and evade and boast as we will, the fundamental necessities of clothing and of food, not to mention that of shelter, are today the world's most important considerations.

He who ministers to these needs is par excellence to the greatest factor in civilization.

Since man first tickled the earth with the point of a stick, and carefully watered and nurtured the little grains that were made to sprout into substance that should keep together the soul and body, the farmer has been the support of the races whether in Christian or heathen lands.

In America his kind came over with the first few Spanish and English explorers. In the magically fertile soil of Santo Domingo, and of the smiling country around Jamestown, and in that Florida Land of Flowers, where the aging Ponce de Leon looked vainly for the fountain of perpetual youth, these hardy pioneers laid the foundations for the sublime superstructure of the American agriculture of today. America has grown and expanded intellectually, materially, and spiritually since those days. She has taken on world importance. Never in history has there been such a nation



PROMINENT UNION WORKERS, TEXAS AND OKLAHOMA DIVISIONS.

1. The men with short hair, SAM HAMPTON; the other, GREEN B. PATTERSON,
Lecturers.

2. MISS NELLIE HORTON, Ex State Treasurer.

3. MRS. LUCILLE GRISHAM TEMPLETON, Adopted Daughter of the National Union.

4. J. R. DOLL, Ex Member State Executive Committee.

5. R. F. CHAPMAN, Ex State Secretary Treasurer.

as this first and greatest republic of Christendom. From her swarming port of New York she looks out to the four compass points of civilization, beckoning the trade of distant and alien peoples and sending them in return her argosies laden with the fruits of her soil and her labor and her ingenuity.

The diplomat in the European capital, furthering the advantage of his country by wile and stratagem, is in some way vassal to America. The student in the universities of Germany, and in the academies of France, in some manner, and at some time, are tributary to the great American nation. The gibbering man-animal in the jungle of Africa or the slant-eyed celestial in the land of the Rising Sun look with eager and expectant gaze toward the shores of Columbia. For it is from there that they draw much of the substance and much of the inspiration that figures in their hourly lives and in their sluggish designs on the morrow.

So, then, America is preëminent in civilization, preëminent in a manner that is new to precedent, and that must widen in its wonder and its grandeur with the unwinding of time.

The American farmer is the father, the custodian, the savior and the future for this vast and impending greatness.

Without his diligence in coercing from the soil a largess of its fertility, where would be the world-wide commercial supremacy of the United States?

Without his patience and his industry in piling up cotton and wheat and corn for the feeding and the clothing of his own people, and of millions more whom he never has seen, and will never see, what figure would America cut in the impressive chorus of nations?

Without the grinding and sweating and killing and illy paid activity that brings forth crude material from the soil, where would be the myriad industries that send skyward the smoke of thousands of factories, and that give employment to millions of men, and that feed millions more of women and children?

Where would be the bread and the meat of those other uncounted armies of European laborers who depend upon American cotton and other products for sheer livelihood?

Where would be the magnificent international trade with which England overshadows civilization?

Where would be the spreading traffic with which Germany and France and Russia reach out into barbarous regions and subjugate them to their capital?

Blot out the American farmer tomorrow, diminish his activity or his loyalty by the smallest iota and you pinch all civilization.

The black stain of the boll weevil upon the cotton of the South is of more concern to Europe than any great political question.

Abnormal visitations of nature or of climate on this side of the water more greatly agitate the capitalist and the laborer of America and of Europe than do any of the precepts of religion.

The farmer, the American farmer, is the foundation or pillar and three-fourths of the superstructure of civilization. How many of the glib politicians or of the impatient professional men who figure deftly regarding statistics in this country, adequately realize that fact.

They are wont to discourse smoothly and in beautiful terms of the indispensability of the farming classes.

How many of them remotely realize the dimensions of that indispensability? What the sun and the rain are to the earth, that is the farmer to the earth also.

Not often is he given credit for this overweening importance.

Neglected, ridiculed, and misunderstood he is more likely the butt for humorous cartoon and lame quip.

With the sharp ones of earth who arrogate to themselves credit for all the shrewdness and knowledge in creation, the farmer may be a by-word for credulity and ignorance unfathomable.

But I tell you that this man who is meekness and patience and long suffering is feeding and clothing and sheltering the nations, and who is putting bread into the mouths of the world's population, is the noblest handiwork of the Creator.

The Master once said, "He who would be greatest among you let him be your servant."

Gauged by this sublime injunction the farmer towers overwhelmingly above all the children of men.

He who stops the hungeriness and covers the nakedness of mankind must frequently himself go hungry and naked.

He who brings wealth and prosperity to men who know not his trials and his problems, must often deprive wife and child of the commonest necessities of existence.

He who brings joy and gladness to men, women, and little children in this and in distant lands is frequently like the Nazarene himself, "A man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."

A better day is dawning for this wonderful child of God.

He has been all these years like a fettered giant. Some of those fetters he has already stricken. Others of them he is just feeling and beginning to loose.

He is now standing upright with his face toward the rising sun. He is following the glancing rays of its light with keen eyes

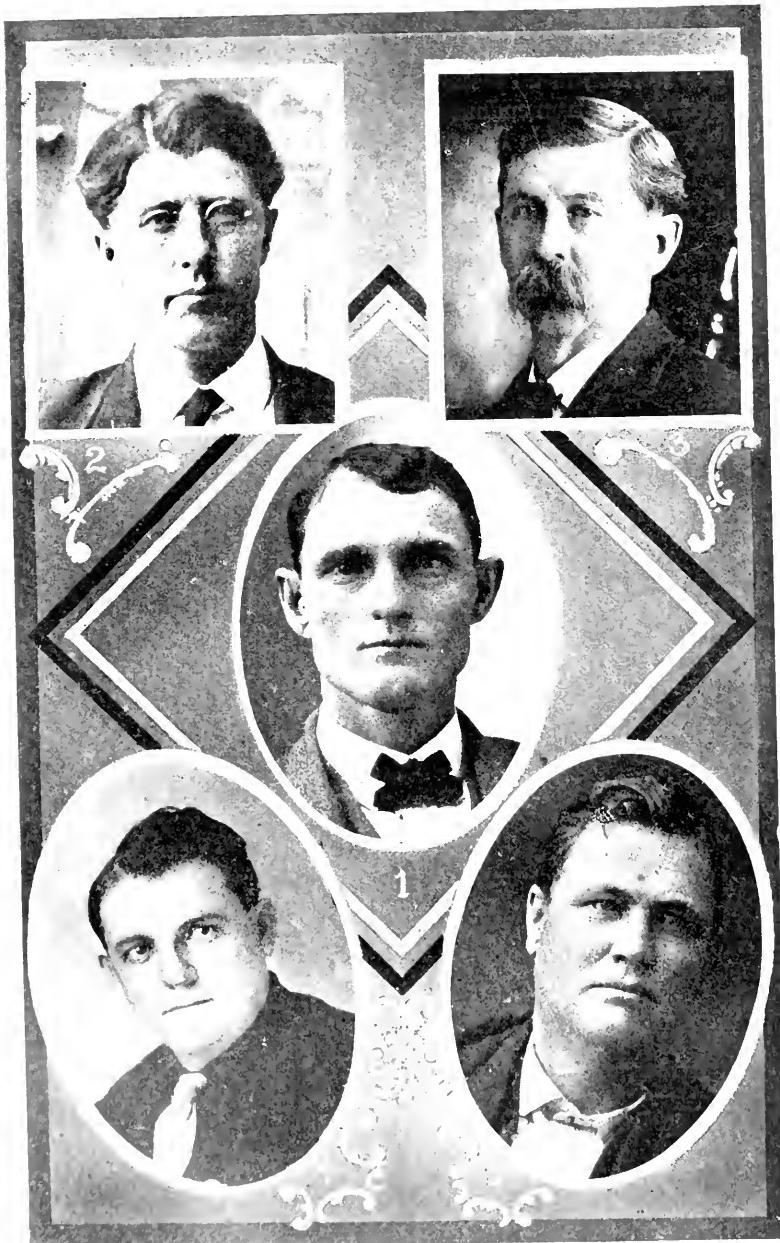
to the uttermost ends of civilization. He is seeing with all meekness and humility that it is he with whom God has charged the greatest mission in all history. He is seeing, as through a magic perspective, the tremendous reaches of his illimitable influence.

He knows that his life work has barely begun. He sees that greater and vaster conquests and larger duties await his tested talents.

But he knows, too, that no longer will the world-old task of supporting the world be done in blindness and in tears.

Scales no longer impede his eyesight.

God's hand rests upon his shoulder, and he looks down the luminous centuries at the magnificence of achievement and of service yet to come.



PROMINENT WORKERS, TEXAS DIVISION.

1. GEORGE W. PANT, Organizer and Lecturer.
2. L. B. HOLLOWAY, Organizer and Lecturer.
3. O. F. DORNBECKER, Organizer and Lecturer.
4. H. J. E. WIEBE, Plow Boy Orator of the Plains of West Texas.
5. J. L. ARMSTRONG, Organizer and Lecturer.

CHAPTER VII.

HOW THE PROPER FUNCTIONS OF EXCHANGES ARE PROSTITUTED.

If you will allow me to use a Biblical illustration, from the time that Adam and Eve grew more fruit and vegetables than their family could consume, men felt the necessity for markets, where they could at profitable prices dispose of the surplus of their labor.

Exchanges are nothing in the world but markets. They are a central place where buyers and sellers can meet, exhibit their wares, and effect sales with justice to both.

The exchange, as it applies to the selling of cotton, grain, and other commodities in America, has hopelessly prostituted its functions.

Intended, originally, as a place where producer and the agent of the consumer could get together with a "square deal" to both, they have degenerated into colossal gambling marts. Here the products upon which the wealth of the country depends, are juggled about as so many pawns in a game of chess, or as dice in the hands of gamblers.

The original purpose, and the only excuse, of exchanges is today being defeated. Producers and consumers, rarely, if ever, get together at our present exchanges. Many of the farmers do not know the meaning of the exchange, save what they have learned by bitter and robbing experience. Many of the consumers, the majority of them, knowing nothing of the rules of trade, and how they are abused on these exchanges, are being hourly robbed to support a set of high-class gamblers who would not know cotton or corn or wheat if they saw it, and who are as merciless as the grave.

Only when these abuses are corrected will the farmers and the consumers get that much-talked-about "square deal."

At this time the Farmers' Union is engaged in an effort to have gambling in the price of farm products eliminated from exchanges, and transactions there limited to actual sales. It is contended by

the exchange interest that this should not be done. They contend that present methods are the outgrowth of business necessity.

This we deny. We recognize that as business conditions change, there must be changes in business methods, but these changes should be along honest, natural lines, and that it never can become proper in order to meet changed business conditions, to associate gambling as a necessary adjunct. We deny that the change which has made the volume of transactions on exchange; gambling, instead of legitimate transactions, has come in response to changed business conditions, but we insist that it has come as an increased source of revenue to the members of and professional operators or exchanges. That is not an evidence of improvement, but of deterioration. That is not a benefit, but an injury to trade transactions.

It is not every change which is an improvement. Many institutions, even governments, have made changes which have worked their destruction. Experience has taught that there are laws which must govern all business and human relations, as immutable as the laws which govern the purely physical universe, and that all true progress must be made in conformity to them.

DEVELOPMENT OF EXCHANGES.

At an early period markets came to occupy a most important place in the commercial machinery of all peoples. There was nothing artificial about them—they were places where by common consent those who desired to sell, carried their property, and met and traded with those who desired to purchase. Such markets as we refer to have continued to this day, both as originally established, and as altered to meet changed business conditions, constantly adhering to their fundamental characteristic, viz., a place where the buyer and seller meet to trade. Practically the only development which has occurred in these markets is that there has been added to trading in bulk, trading in commodities, by sample, and instead of all trades being conducted in person, trades are made to a larger extent through agents whose regular business it is to represent other persons. To make trades in person was inconvenient and expensive to those who lived at a great distance from the market, or whose business would not permit them to remain at the market place until all their property had been sold, or until all their purchases had been made, therefore it was advantageous to have men constantly reside at the market, and each market day offer for sale the property of their

principals which had been intrusted to them for sale, and to seek to fill orders for their clients desiring to purchase. As the volume of business increased, and trade conditions became more complex, it became necessary to have buildings, clerks, etc., and rules to govern transactions made through the markets at exchanges as they come to be known. It followed naturally that these men engaged in the business of acting for others, should mutually agree among themselves to provide houses and equipment required, and having procured same, it also followed, naturally, that the general public would not be allowed to use this equipment.

Thus we have developed perfectly naturally the exchange governed by rules, with a regular membership who own the common property, and have exclusive right to its use, resulting in the appropriation of that which has been common property, viz., the market. There seems to have been nothing unnatural in this development, though it has resulted in a few monopolizing the market facilities of a market which may have been built up by the whole trading public. It may be that it would have been better had the public through their civil government retained control. It may be that there will be other developments which will place such places more directly under such control.

There came to markets as originally established, only the buyer and the seller. Some buyers desired the articles purchased for their own consumption, others purchased to sell again. The man who owned no commodity which he wanted to sell, or who did not desire in good faith to purchase property, was not present at these markets. Really he has no business in any market.

BEGINNING OF FUTURE TRADING.

Within the last half century, a man began to sell cotton in England "to arrive" later. In these sales the seller had in mind cotton in transit, out of which he expected to make delivery, and the buyer expected him to make delivery according to contract, and made his arrangements to receive same when delivered. These transactions appear to have been the beginning of sales for future delivery. Such transactions as this had in them an element of danger to the contractor, but this element of danger was not necessarily great. Cotton was in existence, and from his knowledge of the cotton in transit, and the price at which he had already, or could purchase, he could be reasonably certain of his ability to comply with his contract at a profit. These transactions may not

be objected to on any ground recognized in our present business ethics, but it cannot be said that the man who made these contracts performed an economic service since he had not been instrumental in so far as the transaction showed, in moving the cotton to market. If he merely hung upon the market and speculated upon the result of the effort and labor of other men, he had no standing in so far as his rights were concerned. Whatever he acquired was taken from the legitimate profit of those who did really do things, with reference to the commodity, which entitled them to remuneration or his profit was added to the cost to the consumers. In any event, his operations were burdensome to those legitimately and necessarily connected with the staple, and sound public policy would require that such transactions be not encouraged. Certainly those who were by reason of their relation of agency, standing in the place of the seller and the real buyer, should not adopt any rules which would encourage such transactions. On the contrary, correct business economy would demand that all rules which might be established with reference to trading in the commodity should limit such operations as much as possible. There can be no question as to the sound business economy and justice of this. No man has the right to withhold his money and energies from the legitimate avenues of trade and business with reference to a commodity, and then burden the price of that commodity with a profit to himself, made upon the correctness of his forecast of the effect upon the price of that commodity of the acts of others. Economy and common sense agree to the correctness of this proposition. Certainly when an association of men appropriate the market facilities of a place, and engage in the business of selling and buying commodities for their clients, duty of agent to principal requires them to act for the best interest of their principals, both in making transactions for them and in making rules which are to govern the making of such transactions. These duties are fundamental, and underlie all the relations of agent and principal. Every court in the civilized world has declared these duties to exist in the very nature of that relation. It has been the common law in England from time immemorial, and has been the law in America since government begun here. It is founded in necessity, is required by good conscience, and inheres in the very nature of the relation of principal and agent. No departure from this can be justified, nor can it fail to result in harm because it is violative of the fundamental law of business and good conscience as well.

All institutions must progress or retrograde, but they can progress only in conformity with the immutable laws by which they are governed. An institution like an exchange which has grown out of the necessities of that part of the trading public who buy and sell the commodity sold through exchanges, must develop along those lines which will make it most useful to that part of the trading public. Any change in its methods should add to its perfection as the place where the man who wants to sell a commodity, may sell it, and where the man who wants to buy, may buy. There never has been any true development along artificial lines. It may look all right when examined superficially, but it is not all right. It is violative of law, and somebody must pay the penalty. In the very nature of things, exchanges which perform a *quasi* public function, must be conducted for the benefit of the public; and it is only in compensation for the services rendered the public that the members of an exchange are entitled to compensation.

The chief functions of an exchange is to eliminate intervening transactions and expenses from between the producer and the consumer. An exchange can improve only as it brings them more and more directly and economically into trading contact with each other, and as its public reports more and more faithfully show the truth with reference to transactions made there. Whenever it is discovered that an exchange is getting further and further from this, its fundamental purpose, it may be known with absolute certainty that instead of improving, it is retrograding. Either its management is incompetent or dishonest, or it is violating the fundamental laws of business which fix its functions. Since its functions have been so long recognized and the laws of business which govern them have come to be so well known, it is not probable that an intelligent management would permit a violation unless some opportunity for personal gain should offer a temptation so great that those in control would yield thereto. This thing not infrequently occurs in the ordinary relations between agent and principal. It is not improbable that it would occur in the affairs of an exchange. It is not usually in a departure from correct transactions that the departure be radical at first, but once the departure is made, so long as it is continued, the distance from correct methods increases until after a while they become far separated. Strange as it may seem, the legitimate must be stimulated and cultivated if it is to grow. The illegitimate once planted, grows of its own accord, and unless uprooted will finally choke out the legitimate. This is fundamental,

in character, in business, in cultivated fields, it matters not where, it is true. Useful crops must be cultivated. Noxious weeds and grasses grow of their own accord, and if permitted free growth, will choke out the useful crops among which they grow.

BEGINNING OF THE DESTRUCTION OF EXCHANGES.

Several years ago our American Exchanges were places where the buyer and seller met and traded in actual commodities. The gambler came to these exchanges and offered to pay those who controlled them just the same commission which they were receiving for making *bona fide* transactions in the actual commodity. These gambling transactions were much easier to handle than the *bona fide* transactions. By affording facilities for them it was seen that they would become practically unlimited, and large revenue would come to those who had the exclusive right of agency in making them. It was perhaps not intended when these transactions were first made that they should choke out the legitimate ones, but the volume of business increased by reason of them. The right of agency (membership) in these exchanges became more valuable, more men purchased the right to make such sales, and sometimes the very agents themselves made these transactions in their own behalf. Duty to the real trading public and their rights was lost sight of, and members came to consider that they had bought the right to act as agents in making these transactions, and had the right to make such rules as would stimulate them and bring to themselves larger profits.

Wire-houses were established throughout the country, and every inducement and every facility was offered for the making of these gambling transactions. By false education people were taught that they were legitimate. Today we observe the result. The legitimate has been choked out, and the illegitimate has grown to enormous strength and proportions. There is the barest evidence left of what once flourished in these exchanges. In their effort to justify conditions, the apologist for the exchanges point to the feeble remnant of that which once flourished. Like a field in which corn has been planted, but which the husbandman in charge has never cultivated, here and there may be found a puny little stalk struggling among the rank grown weeds to respond to nature's requirement, but if there is any fruition, it will not be worth the harvesting.

So with the exchange. Here and there in the wild tangle of gambling transactions may be found a relatively insignificant

legitimate one, but as the neglected cornfield does not present the appearance of a cornfield, but of a weed field, so does the exchange not present the appearance of an exchange, but of a gambling house. By search you may find a stalk of corn in the one, and by search you may find a legitimate transaction in the other. As the husbandman who was intrusted with the cultivation of one has clearly failed to discharge his duty, so has the management which has had charge of the other failed to discharge its duty.

Is there any mystery connected with these results? If it should be known that by some artificial arrangement the farmer in charge of the cornfield could get as great profit from each weed as he could get from each stalk of corn, would there remain any mystery as to why he had permitted it to grow up in weeds? Would not this also actually explain why he had gathered weed seeds and sown them among the corn which was originally planted in clear soil? If it should be known, as it is known, that the members operating on the exchanges get as much profit from each gambling transaction as from each legitimate transaction, does there any longer remain a mystery why conditions with reference to the exchanges as we find them today? Does it not explain the existence of the wire-house (the medium by which the gambling transactions are gathered and sown among the legitimate ones?)

Is not the cause which produces this deterioration clear? Does not its discovery suggest the remedy? but the apologist for the present methods in our exchanges, who have been compelled to admit the presence of a large volume of gambling transactions, and a small volume of transactions closed by actual delivery of the commodity (which shows them to be in the last ditch of their defenses), are endeavoring to prevent an entire eradication of gambling transactions. The reason for this is apparent, and is founded upon motives of self-preservation. Since they have relatively such a small volume of legitimate business, it is clear to them that their number is so large in proportion to the business which they would have left, that at least some of them will be forced to other vocations.

IMPOSSIBLE OF DEFENSE.

We have treated this phase of the subject for the reason that there is no certainty that by the time this volume shall have left the publisher, the defenders of the present methods of the exchanges will be offering the same arguments now made by them. But no argument can be offered which will overcome the fact that they are wrong in principle, and are violating economic law; nor

can they argue away the fact that the penalty of violated law cannot be escaped. Men may evade statutes enacted by men, but they cannot evade laws which inhere in the very nature of men's relations.

SOME SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS TO GAMBLING.

Before leaving this subject it is well to examine some of the specific objections to gambling in the price of farm products. Irrespective of the welfare of the producer, gambling in farm products, like other species of gambling, is contrary to sound public policy, and for that reason it is the duty of the government, in so far as possible, to suppress it. This is axiomatic. It is immediately approved by the conscience and observation of men. No magic, by words or power of argument, can shake this proposition or break its force. The claim that it is a mere sentimental theory cannot do it.

During the existence of wire-houses in the South, innumerable instances occurred where men known to those who read this volume, yielding to the temptation afforded by these institutions to gamble in futures, squandered their money, and that of other people which they were able to get possession of, and brought sorrow and shame to their families. It was the frequency of such occurrences which aroused the sentiment which finally banished these institutions from most of the Southern States. These transactions were all made on the exchanges. It was there the money was lost, and it was through them that character was destroyed. The wire-houses being only a convenient medium. The claim that these transactions were legitimate, induced many men to gamble in futures who would not have patronized a game of confessed illegitimacy. History has taught over and over again that nothing is good for the material interest of a people which is detrimental to public morals. This is not a statement prompted by sentiment. It is a bold, strong truth, settled beyond all question by the history of men, and was re-confirmed by the effect of gambling on the price of farm products. From the beginning of authentic history there is not recorded one exception, and there never will be. This should address itself with great force to the consideration of statesmen and patriots as distinguished from time-serving politicians and short-sighted men. It fully meets all argument that gambling in futures is beneficial. Viewed from a purely material standpoint, such a thing is fundamentally impossible.

MATERIAL INJURIES.

But we do not rest our opposition here. We shall endeavor to show some of the specific material injuries which have resulted from gambling in farm products. The writer is more familiar with conditions which surround the producing and marketing of cotton than that of any other commodity. But what is true with reference to that commodity is true as to all other agricultural commodities sold on exchanges. We have already considered the effect of gambling upon the exchanges themselves. It is clear that their utility as mediums for barter and trade has been practically destroyed by these illegal practices.

It should be remembered that there is nothing personal or institutional in this movement to abolish gambling in futures. That these evils are prevalent in certain institutions, or that certain individuals happen to be associated with them is purely incidental. Doubtless many of these men have practically grown up in these institutions, and it has never occurred to them to seriously question their methods.

We of the South who grew up with the institution of slavery, believed it to be both right and necessary to the industrial prosperity of the South. Experience has taught us that it was not best for us, but life-long association with the conditions produced by that institution, rendered us unable to see its harmful tendencies.

Many members of the exchanges seem unable to appreciate the true character of the volume of their transactions. They speak of them as "speculations." They claim that the producer is opposed to speculation. In this they are mistaken. The producer has never contended that speculation in his products should be abolished. Such a contention would be absurd? On the contrary, he recognizes that the right of all men to purchase what they choose must remain inviolate, in so long as they do not do so for monopolistic or other unjust purposes. A certain amount of speculation has a tendency to prevent rather than destroy stability of prices.

DIVERTS LEGITIMATE SPECULATION.

One of the farmer's complaints is that gambling in the price of his commodities divert from them legitimate speculative investments in them which they would naturally attract when their price is depressed because of lack of present demand for consumptive purposes. Many of those who now wager that the price will advance, would probably make purchases of the commodity

and hold same for the advance. When this condition is reached now with reference to cotton, for instance, instead of buying the actual cotton, they go to so-called brokers and each put up \$200 as margins, and make a so-called purchase of futures, paying the brokers \$7.50 as commission. When the transactions are closed, each pays another \$7.50 as commission, making a total in each transaction of \$215 involved. Suppose that 20,000 of these transactions from the South are pending at one time. That would mean a removal from the section where cotton is produced of \$4,000,000 put up as margins, and \$300,000 absolutely gone as commissions to the so-called broker, and the attention and energy of the people expended on these future transactions instead of upon spot cotton, though it all comes from the belief that cotton is a good purchase.

Experiences in the South have also shown that it is highly probable that a large part of the \$4,000,000 will never again reach the men who put it up.

Practically all of these transactions originate in the South. It is universally admitted that non-professional "speculators" are almost without exception bulls. This money having gone from the South to the control of those connected with the exchanges, its withdrawal from available funds in the South necessarily weakens the South's ability to care for its "distressed" cotton. There is no cotton seeking market involved in the transaction. The only cotton involved—and that is only theoretically involved—is the stock held in the warehouses controlled by the exchanges, and held largely to facilitate these gambling transactions. Nobody expects any cotton to be delivered on them. We don't have to call in an expert or read the rules of the exchanges in order to know this. We of the South who live among the people who have made these transactions, don't have to speculate or theorize. We know that it is substantially correct to say that not one bale of cotton is really involved in these transactions. Our neighbors have made them for years, and none of them have ever gotten any cotton. What would a man in the South want with cotton in New York or in New Orleans?

DESTROYS STABILITY OF MARKET.

The producer objects to gambling in futures because it destroys the stability of the market in which he must sell, and deprives him of the opportunity to apply the rules of business in governing him in the marketing of his products. Observation of

the market reports disclose that there are wide and erratic fluctuations in the price of farm products which have not been produced by any change of business conditions, and which have not been occasioned by the operation of the laws of legitimate business. In a large measure these fluctuations are the result of gambling in the price of the commodity.

It is a well-known fact that the non-professional "speculators" are bulls—at least they are flatteringly called bulls. It appears from an excerpt of the testimony of a member of the New York Exchange taken by the Commission of Corporations, page 337, Part I, of its report on Cotton Exchanges, "the outsider who speculates is a buyer always," and since for every purchase of a future contract, there must be a corresponding sale, it follows that the other side of the bets are taken by those who are professionals.

Thus we have a large number of non-professionals, pursuing many callings, scattered over a vast area, acting without system or understanding, betting with a small number of men possessed of all information necessary, fitted by years of training, acting in concert, and usually following the lead of one, or a very few men. In a case where the total of transactions is 20,000, there would be practically \$8,000,000 wagered upon whether cotton will go up or down. If it goes up, the professional will lose. If it goes down, they will win. The relative advantage of the professionals is manifest. It is their own game. They make their living from its winnings, whereas the non-professionals make their money in other vocations and lose it here.

If this were merely a wager to be determined by the normal action of the market, the cotton producers would have only the complaint that money was tied up, and eventually lost in these wagering transactions which but for them would probable be invested in actual cotton.

But these wagers are not always determined by the natural effect of market conditions upon prices. The stake involved is so large that these professionals who have bet that the market will go down, yield to the temptation offered by this large sum of money, and by manipulation of the market depress the price of the commodity in order that they may win. Who can doubt that they will bring to bear all the power which they command to accomplish this result? In other words, the temptation afforded by the large amount of money involved in these wagers, offers a great temptation to an organized bear clique to depress the price of the actual commodity in the hands of men whose labor has

created it, and who have had no part in these gambling transactions.

This is manifestly unjust and injurious to the cotton producer. Suppose that a bull clique should get control and prices are forced to an abnormal height? This is clearly unjust to the consumer, and in the long run works no good to the producer or even to the outside speculator who is able to win with them. The producer will probably be encouraged by the abnormal high price to plant too great an acreage the next year, and by over-production break the market; besides these abnormal high prices are calculated to create all sorts of extravagant calculations and expenditures on the part of the producer, and ultimately hurt him, and the bankers, merchants, and all others with whom he has business transactions. These occasional winnings do the outside "speculator" no permanent good. As is always the case where money is acquired by such methods, the man who gets it is unbalanced thereby. His relish for gain by honest means is impaired, and he is usually lead by the winning to make other wagers with inevitable disastrous results. The sum total of these transactions is that money and energy are diverted from the channels of legitimate enterprise. Injury is done to the business and character of those engaged in these illegitimate transactions, and the stability of the market in which agriculture, the basic vocation of the nation, must sell its products, is destroyed, and men who follow this vocation find that business judgment and foresight can avail them but little in this market where the laws of business do not apply except to a limited extent. They cannot calculate. They do not know what to do. They cannot form an intelligent opinion as to how they should divide their crops or when to market them. This in the very nature of things, producing more or less haphazard sort of methods which are to the great detriment of the farmer, and are contrary to the general business interests of the country.

DIFFICULT TO APPLY BUSINESS.

Farmers are now making an effort to apply business methods to their business. In the writer's opinion, this lack of stable market which is largely produced as the direct and indirect effect of gambling in futures, is the strongest reason, viewed from an industrial standpoint, why gambling in futures should be abolished.

The natural and business-like method would be for the farmer to sell when his products are wanted for consumptive purposes, but since the market is unnatural, it is not possible to rely on

natural business rules to govern in operations in the market. As a result, farmers usually sell their entire crop as soon as gathered, which inevitably produces a glutted market with resultant depressed prices, and produces a tremendous strain upon all of our financial institutions, and upon the railroads which must move these crops in a short space of time, resulting not only in a general financial stringency and inconvenience to those whose business requires accommodation by financial institutions; and also great inconvenience to merchants, manufacturers, etc., who require the use of shipping facilities but the railroads are required to provide facilities for handling this great volume of freight in a short length of time, which, when the crops are moved, must in part, remain relatively idle. The shipping public must pay interest on the money invested in this idle equipment, and the shipping public in turn collects this money from the consumers of the things shipped.

THE SOUTH'S GREAT PURCHASING POWER.

Notwithstanding this fact, it is contended that to suppress gambling would injure the price of cotton, and it is claimed that the decrease of gambling caused by the elimination of the wire-house has already done so. This is in line with the stock argument of the exchange advocates which was met with on every hand during the campaigns in the South, which resulted in eliminating the wire-houses from most of the Southern States. It is not capable of establishment, and has been many times refuted, but they have not abandoned it, presumably because they have no better to offer. It is so palpably absurd, and is so clearly an effort to toll the "lambs" in to be sheared, and is so entirely impossible of establishment that it would not be noticed except that there are good men who yet believe it to be true. They say that cotton is cheaper now than then. That proves nothing. So are many other things. Let us examine again these future transactions on the part of non-professionals scattered through the South, with a view of ascertaining their effect upon the price of spot cotton.

PUTS A PREMIUM ON BEAR MANIPULATIONS.

We have already shown its effect so far as it withdraws money and energy, which but for such withdrawal, might reasonably be expected to protect cotton prices and relieve "distressed" cotton from forced sale; and it may be observed that during the recent financial panic more support was given cotton than ever before.



STATE OFFICIALS, OKLAHOMA DIVISION.

1. WILLIAM GARRISON, State President.
2. W. F. BELDEN, Member State Executive Committee.
3. W. H. A. HARRISON, Member State Executive Committee.
4. B. F. DOUGLAS, Member State Executive Committee.
5. FREEMAN R. SMITH, Vice-President.

Let us again suppose that there are 20,000 transactions pending, which represent the "purchases" by those non-professionals, flatteringly called, of "The South's Great Purchasing Power"—20,000 bets made that the price of cotton will go up. No cotton is bought. No delivery is expected. Everybody understands this. There is, therefore, no actual cotton which is seeking market, required in these transactions. The people making them expect to hold them for a while, and then close out by making a "sale." Thus we have 20,000 purchases and 20,000 sales: 20,000 transactions on the bull side, and an equal amount on the bear side. Those making them are not acting in concert, and these transactions of buying and selling go on more or less indiscriminately. Where then is the net bull effect of these operations? The stake involved in 20,000 bets would be practically \$8,000,000. Four million dollars put up by a lot of men of many callings, scattered over a vast area, with relatively few professionals, that cotton prices will advance, or that cotton prices will not become lower either by the operation of natural laws of business or through manipulation. It is a bet that the professionals cannot by manipulation force the price down. Now this is what the "Great Purchasing Power of the South" actually does. If the men with whom they make the bet, do, by manipulation, force prices down, the "Purchasing Power of the South" loses. Now the "Great Purchasing Power" goes back to its several vocations, but the professionals who have taken the bear side of the bet have no other vocation to go to—at least, this is a considerable part of their business; they are professionals, and their business is to win this bet. It is their game—they know all its mysteries.

What could be more absurd than to contend that these poor victims are protecting the price of cotton? Certainly they do not realize it, but in their efforts in the "future market," they are affording the price of spot cotton just that character of protection which would be afforded a building by the acts of its watchman who places \$4,000,000 inside of it, and after advertising the fact that the money is on the inside, and that whoever breaks in can get it, abandons the building. This is what the "South's Great Purchasing Power" does. Instead of protecting prices, they actually put up a \$4,000,000 purse to be paid in the event those with whom they bet, or any one else, succeed in forcing prices down.

It is this game which is opposed by the producers of America, and is favored by the exchange interest for obvious reasons, and by a few men in the South for no reason that the mind of man can suggest.

HEDGING.

This is a term used to designate that character of transaction on the future board whereby a man, for instance, who has bought 100 bales of spot cotton, sells 100 bales for future delivery, or a manufacturer who has made a *bona fide* contract to deliver cotton goods at a future time, buys an amount of cotton on the future board equal to the amount necessary to make the goods sold by him. In both transactions no delivery is contemplated with reference to the transactions made on the future board.

It is claimed that the cotton market is so erratic and uncertain that it is necessary to make these hedging transactions as a kind of insurance against loss through fluctuation. It is true that the market is erratic, and without further discussion of that phase, we shall call attention to some serious objections to "hedging." In the first place, it is an artificial arrangement which seeks to relieve men from such business hazards as arise ordinarily in the course of business, and which themselves stimulate the exercise and development of qualities of prudence and correct business judgment, and places additional hazard upon the producers, and places upon the producers or consumers, or both, the expense of these hedges which are variously estimated at from five to ten million dollars per annum. These hedging transactions have no direct connection with those by which cotton is bought and sold. There is no reason or necessity why the cotton manufacturer who sells his products for future delivery, could not purchase at the same time of making the sale, which is usually during January, cotton necessary to make his cloth from. (He would not sell so far in advance, perhaps as he does now. At least he would not sell goods to be manufactured from cotton not yet in existence. There is no necessity why he should.) When he purchases later, he must, by the laws of business, pay the price which cotton was worth in January, plus the cost of carriage to the date of delivery to him, and the profit made by the man from whom he purchased. It would be to the advantage of the producer were the manufacturer to fortify himself against loss, by an actual purchase of the commodity rather than by a hedge on a future board. The producer would thereby have an earlier market for consumptive purposes.

There is another objection to hedging. It has a great tendency toward instability of market. When cotton is hedged by the owner thereof, he has lost all incentive to protect its price. Suppose he purchases cotton at ten cents and hedges it, and cotton goes down two cents per pound? He is indifferent. What he

has lost on his spots, he has made on his futures. In theory, the man who holds the contract which has been sold against the spots, is as much interested in protecting the price of spots as the man would have been had he not sold a hedge against it. But whatever may be his interest in theory, in practice it is not true that he has such a direct interest. He has no idea what particular lot of cotton this hedge was sold against. The hedge does not represent any particular cotton, and besides, he does not have the ability to protect the price. He does not have the cotton in his control. If the man who had paid ten cents for it, had not sold a hedge against it, he would not sell for eight cents unless he were in great financial distress. He would hold a long time first, but having hedged, he would just as soon sell at eight cents under a decline of two cents per pound, as to sell at twelve cents under an advance of two cents per pound, the parity between spots and futures remaining constant.

This cotton held by men who have lost all interest in protecting its price, endangers the price of all cotton yet in the hands of the producer. If, after the crop has been marketed to a considerable extent, every man who had purchased cotton would suffer loss were he to sell for a price lower than that at which he had purchased, it would not be easy to get cotton at reduced values. This is evident. In this way would prices become more stable, and by the elimination of gambling, which is itself largely responsible for instability of the market, and by making each holder suffer loss if a decline occurred, whatever necessity there may be at this time to hedge, would be practically wiped out, and the burden of carrying cotton would be divided between the producer and the consumer. The producer would not crowd the whole business machinery by rushing his entire crop to market as soon as gathered. By holding it for consumptive demand, it would not go abroad in advance of that demand to be held by foreign speculators until the mills wanted it. This profit would very materially add to our own balance of trade.

This system of future sales and hedging against them, forces the producer to bear all the hazard of the cotton business. The price of his commodity is largely fixed by these future sales. For instance, suppose the manufacturers should agree to sell for future delivery, goods which must be manufactured from a crop yet to be made, and had protected themselves by the purchase of hedges. Suppose these future sales are made on the basis of ten cents per pound. We then have a condition where the crop has already been sold for ten cents per pound. It is true, in a qual-

fied sense, that the farmer may sell futures at this price and thereby guarantee himself ten cents per pound for his cotton. *But suppose it were absolutely true, where can he buy or sell a hedge which will guarantee the volume or quality of his yield?* This is one of the natural elements which should control his price, and if he hedge, the effect of this is destroyed. It is here that the burden of the system of future sales and hedging falls. *Can he hedge against a half crop?* It is true that the producers have the power, by concerted action, to overturn the arbitrary prices which have been fixed in advance upon their products, and they are being driven by the injustice of the present method of fixing crop values to resort to concerted efforts, but it would be far better for all concerned that this necessity did not exist. If the producers are forced to combine for agreed prices, it is probable that things will occur before the struggle is ended which will not tend to promote either business or social peace in this country. It is a reflection upon the business ability of the country to say that if the same thought had been applied to the development of a natural method of marketing cotton and the products thereof, that has been applied to this artificial method, that the development of the natural method would not have kept pace with the growth of business requirements. It is a reflection upon the intelligence of the cotton producers and an insult to every sentiment of honesty to say that in order for him to get a just price for that which he has produced by honest toil, that he or some one in his locality must turn gambler and wager with a lot of professionals in a game where every advantage is against him, and where the per cent of the game is 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ against him. It is absurd to say that this game can perform an economic function in a country's business or can contribute to its material good.

No reasons may be offered why, if the present artificial method be abandoned, necessity will not be able to devise an equitable natural method of marketing cotton and the products of the manufacturers in a safe, practical way, with no more hazard than is necessary to develop caution and business ability. Hazard cannot be entirely avoided. Hedging does not avoid it. The parity between spot and future prices is not maintained. It not infrequently occurs that spots will not change, while futures may advance or decline many points, and vice versa. Nature has associated a certain amount of hazard with everything with which men have to do. It may be shifted from one man to another, but somebody must bear the burden of this hazard, and each man should bear his part. The producer, the cotton buyer, and the

manufacturer should each bear his part of the hazard connected with the cotton business, and each being exposed, all would naturally seek to remove any cause which produces an unnecessary increase of the hazard. Instead of trying to insure against it by artificial hedging which gives only limited protection, all would try to create a normal, stable market in which all could operate with relative safety.

It is not right that the cotton producer should be forced to unwillingly guarantee the price at which cotton is to be sold unless somebody will guarantee to him the price at which he is to produce it, and the quantity and quality of his yield. We have not discussed the methods of particular exchange. It is the system which we oppose as being immoral, unnatural, and injurious not only to the producer, but to the manufacturer, to the consumer and to the general legitimate business interest of the whole country.

These exchanges, when you come to examine closely the individuals in charge of them, will be found to be incapable of reforming themselves.

Who would ever think of retaining Satan to reform the lower regions?

We could expect him to do it with as much honesty and thoroughness as we could expect the exchanges to themselves abolish their evil and unjust practices.

In simple words, they "couldn't be good, if they tried."

The only hope, and the only remedy, is for the farmer to go into politics, as detailed in other chapters.

What do you think of this idea, Mr. Farmerman? Write your Congressmen, put it squarely up to him, and see what he thinks of it.

People don't ask sheep stealers to be good. They go after them with shot-guns.

The ballot is the shot-gun of the farmer!

CHAPTER VIII.

FACTS THE FARMER MUST LEARN—NEED OF SYSTEM—LAW; SYSTEM IS LAW—MANUFACTURERS HAVE SYSTEM—TRAITORS—THE SCHEMER—THE FARMER—WATSON'S SPLENDID TRIBUTE TO THE FARMER—BOTH SIDES.

NEED OF SYSTEM.

EVERYTHING is governed by law, whether in the realm of physics, civics or commerce. Science is classified knowledge and wisdom is perfected judgment.

System is the inevitable law of these, from which there is no escape and without which physics, civics and commerce would fall to the ground in common ruin. Physics is order at work in the natural world. The smoke that curls upward from the chimney tops, the winds that move in circles, the rivers that flow in spirals all obey natural laws as inflexible as were the laws of ancient Persia. Civics is the basis of government wrought out by centuries of patient effort and thought, oftentimes at fearful cost in blood and treasury, by unselfish patriots, who were willing to be misunderstood and misrepresented by those whom they loved and sacrificed to help. Commerce, whose broad wing shelters millions, has been of slow growth and subjected to many vicissitudes. But out of the disappointments and failures has grown up a system that is recognized and practiced throughout the world today.

Without system the natural order of things would be disarranged, and planets, constellations and solar system would be but destructive forces wandering through space. Without system in the natural world, the farmer could not plant with any degree of certainty as to when harvest times would come. Without system winter would cast his snowflakes and scatter his frost when the roses of June were in bloom. Without system chaos would reign from pole to pole, and no one could tell what to expect, but with system things move on with equal regularity, and spring follows winter, summer the spring, autumn the summer, and so on, since time began. Day succeeds night, week succeeds week,

month succeeds month, year succeeds year, and century succeeds century, and has since Adam stood beneath Eden's rose-blown bowers flushed with a hope shattered by the blight and curse of sin, and the same order of things will continue till the last chapter of time has been closed by an angel writing "finis."

Think for a moment how many centuries have come and gone since the human race began the evolution of laws; how many nations have arisen into prominence, ruled for awhile, and passed away; and how many statesmen have thought and thought before a nation reached the sublime standard of "Government for the people and by the people."

From these the farmer might learn a valuable lesson. The farmer, as a class, has never regulated or systematized his business, as manufacturers, railroad magnates, trust-builders, etc. have systematized their business. As a consequence the farmer has been losing his percentage of the aggregate wealth of the country. Feeling the need of system in every department of farming industry, and especially in marketing crops, the Farmers' Union proposed voluntary co-operation, to the end that markets be not overcrowded at any one season of the year. It sounds nice, and worked partially, but to secure co-operation among millions of people without a binding contract legally drawn is an utter impossibility.

Manufacturers and others have systematized their business till it moves with the regularity of clockwork. The merchant knows his business to a nicety. His books show every transaction, and he can tell in a moment just how his business stands. His expenditures for goods, office rent, clerk hire, insurance and rent are all entered and become a part of the cost added to his goods. The income from sales is watched with diligence, and his profit or loss is ever before his eyes. This condition is made possible by a rigid system.

Lack of system has been the bane of the farmer, and the cause of much loss. The farmer keeps no books, and consequently never knows just how things stand in his business. If the farmer expects to succeed as the others do, he must introduce strict business methods into his farming operation.

It stands to reason that if a year's supply of nonperishable products be marketed at the rate of one-twelfth each month that more equitable prices can be maintained than to auction off the crop as soon as gathered, as was once the case. If we but sit up and take notice, we will see that organized industry has a head office that does the regulating and controls the output of the service. If the farmer is to hold his own he must do the same.

For centuries the farmer has been independent, owing allegiance to nobody or to no organization. His independence has been the cause of much of his ills and is due to a lack of system. Whenever the farmer systematizes his farm and markets his products in a systematic way, the dumping of millions of bales of cotton upon the market during the fall months, as is the custom, instead of marketing it through the whole year, will cease. The most prosperous concerns in the business would put their interest into one common pool and follow the leadership and direction of a head man, who has charge of the entire matter. In this way things are controlled and the business made profitable.

Purchasers must be given to know that certain things are sold ONLY through certain offices and by the authorized agents of the farmers, and then it will look like system and will mean business. So long as every producer is a seller and every town a competitive market, to talk of controlling values is ridiculous. When all farmers pool their power and give purchasers to understand that they have nothing to sell individually, but that all must go through the regular channels established by the farmers—the business world will make obeisance and the farmer be reckoned with as a business man.

The purchasing agents of the Union have met with some degree of success, but until all who are interested as members of the Union centralize their business and follow the leadership of men who know how to systematize, the farmer cannot hope to meet business men in a business way. Millions of sellers and thousands of selling centers are disorganizing in influence and destructive to co-operation. Values cannot be controlled by each farmer acting as a unit, but they can be controlled by all acting in concert. Competition is said to be the life of trade, but it is in the farm products the ruin of the farmer if such competition lowers the selling price of his products.

For one to refuse to enter the compact, but to persist in going alone is to play the part of a Don Quixote and storm the windmills, to the amusement of all lookers on. Single-handed and alone the farmer cannot fight his battles successfully or win a victory over well-trained and seasoned business methods founded upon system. The farmer may as well recognize this fact and set about to evolve a compact system that will command respect from the business world. The farmer can establish himself in the business world in a systematic way if only he will.

The farmer's exaggerated idea of his independence has led to his dependence. Being overconfident, he has not felt the necessity of organizing and obeying commands. Obedience is the first

law of system. Wheels, pulleys and shafts are parts of every factory, but for one to disobey the command of the engine, or motive power, is to disarrange the system and disorganize the movement of the machinery. Pulleys are dependent upon other pulleys, and if one does not move, the others are idle. Hence, system is a law governing all things.

He who deserts an army is called a traitor—death is the penalty. He who refuses to be governed by civil authority is called an anarchist. The wage-worker who refuses to be governed by the labor union is termed a scab. The farmer who thinks he is big enough to fight the organized world alone is—well, what is he? The farmer who is doing fairly well, and thinks it a condescension on his part to act in concert with those less fortunate is too vain to know that he is only a man who will soon not be missed nor long remembered. The farmer who does not desire the poorer class to become self-supporting, but prefers that they be dependent that he may the more readily obtain cheap labor and exploit helpless renters, is an enemy to progress and deserves the utmost contempt of decent citizens.

The law of success is the same with farmers as with others, so long as each is a law unto himself his rank will gradually retreat before the advance of organized greed. The Farmers' Union is on trial, and we shall soon see its fate—which is dependent upon the intelligence of the farmer.

THE SCHEMER.

From time immemorial, the farmer has supported and voted for the man he liked best. Not only is this true in politics, but he has acted in the very same manner when it came to business and business organizations. In the days of the Alliance the leaders were selected largely because of the farmers' personal preference and not because of any commendable business qualifications which might or ought to have been possessed by the official elected. This being true, the shrewd schemer has not been slow to cultivate the good opinion of the farmer, that he (the schemer) might profit thereby.

It has been, and still is, the custom of many speakers to tell the farmers that they are good fellows, constituting the very salt of the earth, and particularly so if the speaker wants an office. This form of flattery has often been used with telling effect in campaigns, where the farmers' vote was considerable. Men have been swept into high official positions with no higher claim of merit

than the flattery judiciously bestowed upon the agricultural element in their section.

This is true in politics, as all well know, and it is just as true whenever and wherever business propositions have presented themselves to the farmer for consideration or solution. The catch-penny business concerns that make a business of fleecing the unwary, prey upon the credulity of the farmer by holding out to him golden opportunities by which he (the farmer) may rapidly become enriched by the investment of a very small amount.

The average farmer is easily gulled, and seems to like it, for as soon as some other impossible scheme is devised he bites again. He seems to be willing to chase a rainbow in the vain hope of finding the fabled pot of gold that he has been told is at the end of it. Even though he has learned by bitter experiences that there is no gold there, he is just as willing to follow the next one. Hope never dies in his bosom. Until he learns some business sense, the schemers will continue to take advantage of his whims and prejudices. Thinking men detest the easiness with which farmers become a prey to these scheming demagogues. But the farmers are beginning to learn the ways of the schemer, and will, as they become better informed by reason of organized movements, disregard them and disconcert their plans. The Union furnishes the organization for the schooling of farmers, wherein they learn the schemer and his ways, and right-thinking people everywhere should aid them (the farmers) to thwart the schemers. Success has attended the movements of the Union in many particulars along lines of this kind.

THE FARMER.

Who is a farmer, and what does he amount to? has often been asked. And in answer to this question repeated efforts have been made to tell who he was. Some of these answers have been absurd and others ridiculous. What rights have the farmer? Some appear to think none whatever. He, they say, should toil on from year to year and never once express a choice or a preference; never have a say in any civic or economic question that may confront the people of a State or Nation.

Hon. Thomas E. Watson paid a memorable tribute to the farmer in a speech before a convention of the Farmers' Union in New Orleans. In his speech Mr. Watson said:

FARMERS WON NATION'S INDEPENDENCE.

"When there were vast wastes of wilderness to be cleared with the slow, arduous work of the ax, he cleared them. When there

were pestilential marshes to be drained, he has drained them. When there were deserts to be reclaimed, he has watered them until they were made to blossom as the rose. When there were savages to be driven back, it was the crack of his rifle that heralded the advance of the banners of civilization. When national independence was to be won for the struggling colonies, it was the armies of farmers led by a farmer that met Great Britain in the shock of arms.

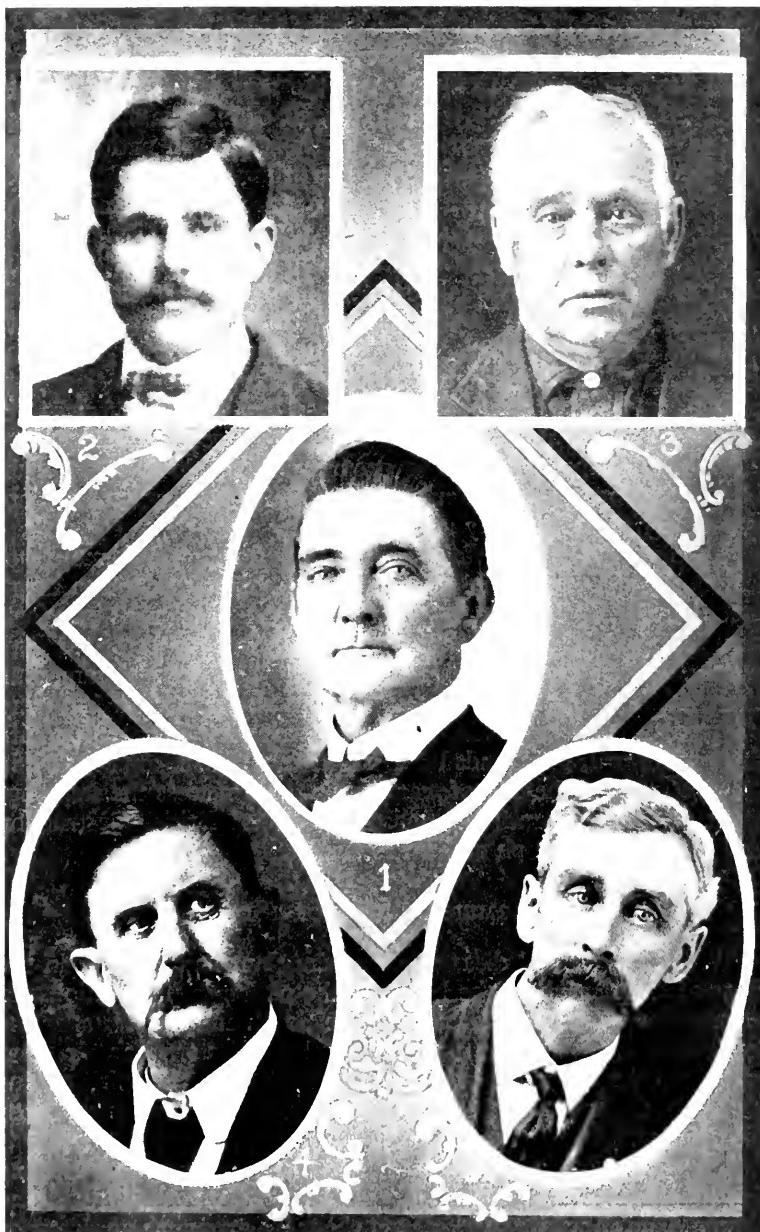
"At the dark crisis of the Revolution in the North, when the treason of Benedict Arnold threatened ruin to the whole American cause, it was three farmers who saved the day. To his captors the British spy, Major Andre, a scion of the aristocracy of Great Britain, in an agony of fear, made every tempting offer—his magnificent gold watch, his well-filled purse, the promise of riches to each of the poor men who were captors—to secure his freedom. To his offers the reply was as prompt and simple as it was sublime: 'We are only poor men, but the King of England has not got money enough to buy us.'

"At the crisis of our affairs in the South during this same Revolution, the day was saved at Kings Mountain by Southern farmers. Furnishing their own guns and ammunition, furnishing their own horses and provisions, the farmers of North Georgia, of Tennessee, of Southern Virginia, and of the Carolinas, sprang into their saddles and of their own initiative gave chase to the left wing of the army of Cornwallis, which was ravaging the country with fire and sword, surrounded it, fought to a finish, annihilated it, and thus turned the tide of war, making one success the stepping-stone to another, until the consummation of British destruction and American triumph at Yorktown.

FARMERS IN WAR OF 1812.

"When shame and disaster along the Canadian frontier in the War of 1812 had bent the heads of the nation in humiliation and desperation, it was the farmers of the South and West, under the leadership of a Southern farmer and a Western farmer, that redeemed the glory of our arms and reanimated the spirit of our people in the battle of the Thames and in the glorious triumph of New Orleans."

Then Mr. Watson asked, "What has the government ever done for the farmer?" He answers this question by citing a few things done for them, but offsets these by grouping an array of facts and figures which show that much every way has been done for the other people. The reason for this doing for the others



PROMINENT WORKERS, OKLAHOMA DIVISION.

1. S. O. DAWS, Ex State President.
2. HENRY PETWORTH, Ex Member State Executive Committee.
3. W. J. CRAWFORD, State Organizer.
4. HARDY DIAL, Prominent Lecturer.
5. AL. B. BROWN, Ex Member State Executive Committee.

is that the others went after what they wanted, and made their wishes known and enforced them by strong demands.

A very sensible view of the farmer was recently exposed by John M. Stahl, editor *Farmers' Call*, in which he reviews the opinions of others relative to the farmer.

These views are quoted here, not for the purpose of antagonizing other interests, or for the purpose of setting one class against another, but for the reason that they are true. The quotation presents both sides, and is as follows:

"In the city are to be found wrong notions about farmers. These notions are, almost without exception, uncomplimentary to the farmer, and do him an injustice. The farmer is well aware of all this, and the result is a somewhat unkindly feeling toward—not the few city people he knows, but the city people he does not know—town people as a class. Hence he is indifferent to some things that affect the welfare of city people. This is unfortunate. It is equally unfortunate that city people, because of wrong notions of the farmer, are indifferent and occasionally openly hostile to the interests of farmers. I repeat that this is unfortunate for both parties, for the interests of the man of the city and the man of the farm are now closely interwoven. What injures the city hurts the farm. What benefits the farm helps the city. If city people knew the farmer as he really is, and if the farmer knew that the city people had a just conception of him, he would not have that indifference to or positive disregard of urban interests that, for example, is only too manifest in the Legislatures of the States having one or more large cities. It is highly important to the good citizen of Chicago, for an example, that there be a good understanding between them and the farmers of Illinois, for while much that is said to the farmer about his honesty is insincere flattery that nauseates him, it is nevertheless true that there is not the vice and corruption among our farm population that there is in the cities; and in their efforts for better municipal—and State and National—government, the better element of our cities can, if they are wise, have the sympathy and help of the farmer, and this may often be needed and as often be valuable. In the Legislature of every State having one or more large cities, some of the members are so distrustful of and prejudiced against the city, that it is their rule of conduct, from which they can be induced to depart by only strong, clearly understood considerations, to oppose whatever the city wants; and yet more are altogether indifferent to the city or cities that are as much a part of the State as are the rural communities. Legislation desired by the city would be investigated and considered without prejudice by

farmer legislators if town people did not show their ignorance of and contempt for the real farmer. Sentiment among farmers in favor of legislation desired by the cities would often be developed by those in whom the farmer has confidence—farm leaders without an itch for public office—if those leaders were not offensively ignored by those that propose to force the measures through the Legislature. The farmers' concern for city interests is not increased by being scolded by the city papers because of his failure to aid the legislation desired by the city, when those papers frequently refer to him as a fool and the 'long-whiskered populist.' Reading our daily papers, justly and justifiably exposing and denouncing that corruption that all too generally permeates our municipal governments; noting the frequency of the most hideous crime against little girls and that those guilty of it are given penalties entirely inadequate; and deeply impressed by the many robberies and murders in the city, the farmer is not to be blamed if he is a little inclined to believe that hold-up men are more numerous than they really are; that many of the stenographers and shop girls are not virtuous, and that the business and political standards are low in the city. And city people, reading the alleged wit and seeing the very, very funny pictures of the bewhiskered farmer in many periodicals, conclude that the farmer never speaks grammatically, and that he knows nothing of history or science; that he spends much of his time signing lightning rod contracts; that he believes that all that is needed to make sound currency are paper and a printing press; that he spends money only for harness and plug tobacco, and that his wife is compelled to sell eggs to get all her clothes; and that, in short, he was—and is—a populist."

CHAPTER IX.

EDUCATION AND CO-OPERATION—REVIEW OF NATIONS NEGLECTING EDUCATION AND THE RESULTS—NATIONS ADVANCED BY EDUCATION—LEADERSHIP IN SCHOOLS—STATE AID—COTTON SCHOOLS—CO-OPERATION—THE TRUST IN CO-OPERATION—OTHER TRUSTS—CO-OPERATION OF GRAIN ELEVATORS AND CREAMERIES IN THE WEST.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EDUCATION AND CO-OPERATION.

MENTAL, moral and spiritual stagnation is the penalty for ignorance. It is imposed by each law of the Almighty, as well as by the statutes of mankind. The negro in the jungle, gibbering and wrestling with nature for his daily bread, is an illustration of the effect of the absence of education. Progress or supremacy that is founded on physical prowess alone is never complete or of long duration. Every action in a man's life, every deed in the world's history, whether great or small, whether the mere mechanism of breathing or of swaying an empire, was first a thought.

Being a thought, it must originate in a mind. The first attribute of mind is intelligence. Intelligence is sustained, directed and developed by education. What food is to the body, education is to the mental faculties. What air is to the lungs, knowledge is to the brain.

A man or a race may be pre-eminently virtuous, pre-eminently wise, and pre-eminently aggressive. Unless they have in addition to these qualities, the quality of absorbing knowledge from experience and information from environment and learning from the past and present, that man or that race will never leave a state of semi-obscenity and complete barbarity,

Track the story of the nations throughout history and you will see these truths exemplified. From the first recorded incident in the Garden of Eden, always the banner in man's progress has been that of education. It was so with Carthage, Greece, Rome,

and with the barbarians. The Egyptian Sphinx stands out today as a monumental challenge to the engineering skill of civilization. It is also an inscrutable testimonial to the learning and intelligence of the ancient people of the Pharoahs.

Look at your own child, who has been given advantages superior to those your father was able to give you.

Granting him original intelligence, he has reaped and is reaping an advancement absolutely impossible to yourself, from sheer lack of education.

The Farmers' Union, at its inception and through its every phase of development, has eloquently realized and sought to profit by this knowledge.

The Farmers' Union began by declaring for better school facilities in the rural districts of the South. In many sections the Union has become the dominant power in educational matters. School boards and legislators have been forced by the numbers composing the Union to listen to the demand for better schools, longer terms, better teachers, with better salaries. Before the coming of the Union, in many counties the school term was barely three months long, and was taught during the winter months, while the children did not have to work on the farm. The school houses were of the poorest kind. They were without blackboards or desks, and the curriculum consisted of reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. The average boy of eighteen who could do sums in fractions was considered the best educated in the community. A story is told of a rural teacher who once went before the county board of examiners for license to teach. The applicant was asked if he taught that the world was round or flat, and he replied that if his patrons wanted the round system, he taught that, and if they wanted the flat system, he taught that. While this story may be a little overdrawn, it is an illustration of the lack of training of many teachers who taught in the country sections.

In Georgia the Union has been foremost in demanding better school facilities for the country boys and girls. There are now eleven district agricultural schools in the State, and the membership of the Union feels a just and laudable pride that they, with others, led a fight for the establishment of these schools. In the other Southern States, notably Alabama and Texas, industrial and agricultural education has received a new impetus under the guidance and direction of the Farmers' Union. The Unions of Arkansas, Oklahoma, Mississippi and Louisiana have made a praiseworthy fight in behalf of similar kinds of education.

LEADERSHIP IN SCHOOLS.

Agriculture is, and must always remain, one of the South's chief sources of revenue and wealth. The numerous rivers are destined to furnish unlimited waterpower for manufacturing plants of all kinds. Alabama, with her coal and iron, has her place fixed in the column of iron manufacturing. Texas is noted for the abundance of her oil wells. South Carolina and Georgia, with Alabama, are great producers of peaches, but all of these are now but a small part of the South's sources of income.

While the manufacturing progress which has been witnessed throughout the South during the past decade has astonished the people in every part of the country, yet manufacturing interests have in no wise kept pace with the agricultural increase in wealth.

This progress is a source of gratitude to the farmer, but while many are astonished at the progress, the lack of trained leadership in the production and disposition of things grown upon the farm has been a serious drawback. To remedy this defect the Union has led an unprecedented fight within the rank of its own membership for schools that would train the farmer boys in practical farm science. The fight also has been made for a system by which the products coming from the farm might be profitably marketed.

One fact must be realized above all others. That fact is, that no amount of theoretical teaching has ever or can ever make a successful farmer. Experience of an intensely practical nature is absolutely necessary. It requires knowledge, mixed with common sense and experience to grow corn and cotton.

EDUCATION AND CO-OPERATION.

(Public Press.)

There is no more potent or influential factor in the promotion of education than the public press. It exerts a far-reaching influence that is felt in every nook and corner of the public domain. It is a moulder of public opinion. It heralds to the world the deeds of men, good or bad, committed in other parts of the world almost as soon as they occur. The press is a recorder of current history, and can by its news items and editorial utterances exert a baneful or beneficial influence.

The Union has been in the forefront demanding clean and wholesome journalism. As men read, so they think; and as they think, so they act. The press has it in its power to arouse the masses to a realization of their needs for an education and thereby

aid in advancing the American people to greater heights of civilization than they now occupy.

The masses of the people must be educated if we ever expect to solve the perplexing problems that confront us; the masses must be educated if we are to continue to grow as a nation; the masses must be educated if our liberties are to remain guaranteed to us. If necessary, we should make any sacrifice to educate our children, even to that of going in rags. This, then, being true, we shall look to the press as one of the agencies to aid us in arousing the people to a sense of their duty.

STATE AID.

Most of the States have materially encouraged agricultural education by legislative appropriation. A few facts and figures taken from educational reports will illustrate what some of the States are doing for this kind of education. Minnesota has 1,000 students in attendance upon her College of Agriculture. The cost of the buildings alone is \$684,000, and it costs \$100,000 annually to maintain this school. Virginia has invested in buildings and equipments \$200,000. Alabama appropriates \$175,000 per year for the maintenance of her Agricultural and Mechanical College, and Texas gives \$177,000. South Carolina appropriates more than \$160,000 annually, while Missouri gives \$125,000 for the same purpose.

THE COTTON SCHOOL.

From the days of the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney to the present time, the farmers have carried their cotton to market and the buyers and speculators have sampled it, graded it according to their classifications and placed their own price upon it. No farmer who grew cotton could tell its grade. He was completely at the mercy of the buyer in the grading of his cotton, as well as in the pricing of it. The farmer thought that it was enough for him to know how to grow it. It never occurred to him that he ought to know its quality and its grade. His lack of knowledge gave the buyer an unreasonable advantage, of which the buyer was not slow to avail himself. The buyers purchased the bulk of the cotton at a lower grade than it really was.

When the Union had become of some force in the cotton belt the membership began to discuss the matter of cotton schools. Alabama in 1897 held a most successful cotton school in the College Building at Auburn. Other States followed with cotton schools, all of which were successful.

The purpose of these cotton schools was to teach the farmers how to grade cotton. Boys from every section of the State in which the school was held flocked in droves to the schools. They were eager to learn. The agitation which had been going on for several months; the debates in the conventions and other meetings of the Union, and numerous newspaper articles by farmers and others interested in these schools had created a thirst for this kind of knowledge that was little short of marvelous.

The first cotton school held in Georgia was opened January 6, 1908, and remained in session until the 17th of the month. There were one hundred and five men, from fifty-four counties in the State, and they were in age from sixteen to sixty years.

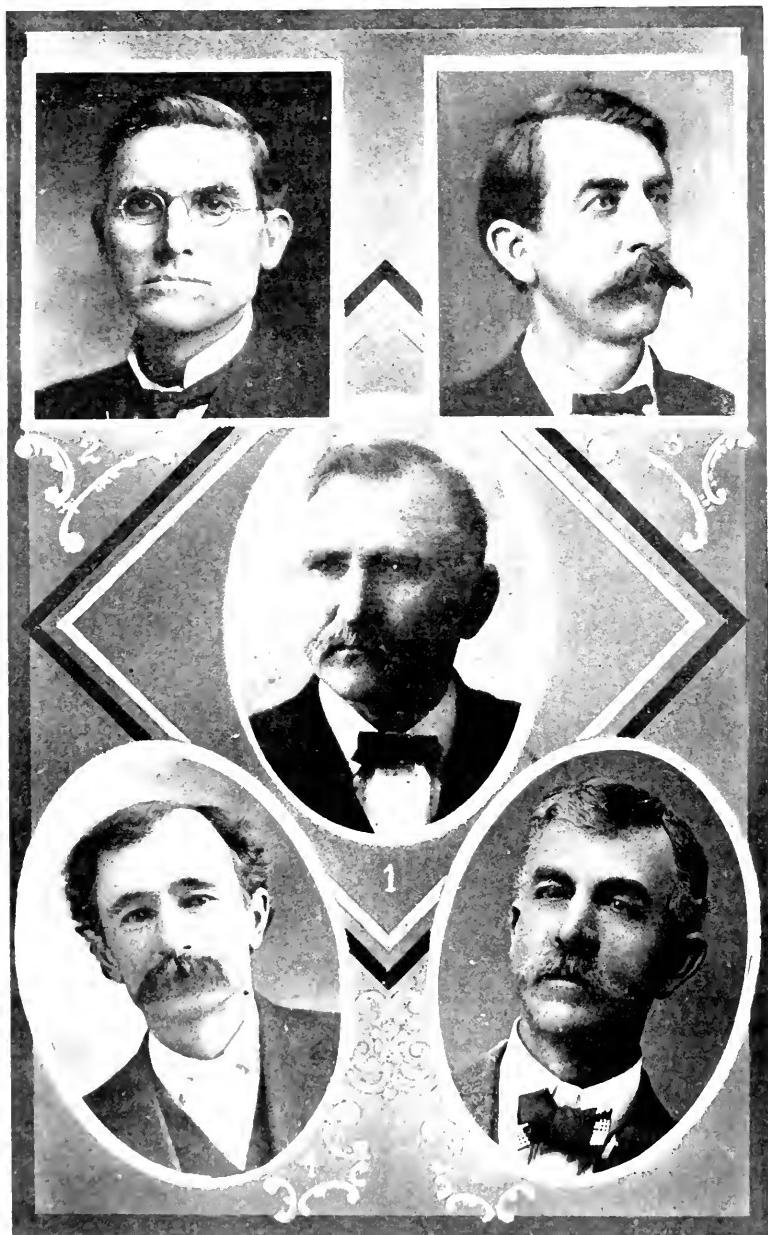
CO-OPERATION.

The laws of co-operation are as old as the world. They are as old as God's dream of order. The laws of co-operation are as immutable as the laws of order by which the sun, moon and stars are governed. Independence is as much a law of God as the Ten Commandments. There is no escape from it. The Bible says, "No man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself," thus clearly establishing the divine law of co-operation in nature and among men.

The past is full of worthy examples of startling successes wrought out through corporate efforts, and it is equally as full of miserable failures where co-operation had been neglected. Nations owe their rise and independence to concert of movement. History reveals the decay and ultimate downfall of nations where strife and dissensions were rife.

England has withstood the outside attacks of opposing armies and navies for more than a thousand years. As a financial center she ranks as the head. Her industries have been built up by co-operation. She stands today as one of the foremost nations of the earth. Her people have always been a unit. Whatever was thought to be for the best interest of the nation instantly met with the approval of all the people. England is not alone in this respect. The United States—our own country—is a bright example of what co-operation will do for a country. Our priceless liberties were purchased at fearful cost. The American soil has been drenched by the blood of her people, who willingly and gladly gave not only their property, but their lives as well, in defense of liberty.

That liberty so prized by the masses now, was made possible through co-operation of all her people. Had one here and there



PROMINENT WORKERS, OKLAHOMA DIVISION.

1. J. P. CONNORS, President State Board of Agriculture.
2. J. Y. CALLAHAN, Ex Member State Executive Committee.
3. WILLIAM MURRAY, Speaker Oklahoma Legislature.
4. CAMPBELL RUSSELL, Ex Member National Board of Directors.
5. J. S. MURRAY, Ex Secretary Treasurer.

stood for the principles of liberty no successful opposition to English misrule could have been organized. Some did oppose the movement, but when the convention by a majority vote cast the die for freedom, the opposition melted away as melts the snow before the spring sun or vanishes the mist before the morning sunlight. Co-operation carried the American arms to victory, and England recognized the right of the colonies to be free and independent people.

Examples are not wanting in the business world. The giant trusts that now control our business and dictate the policies of our government, owe their power of control to unanimity of purpose and thoroughness of organization.

Standard Oil, the most powerful and autocratic combination on the American Continent, began a few years ago with a few oil concerns pooling their interests and fixing a price on oil. Others soon joined, until enough had gone into the compact to control the oil business. The few independent concerns that could not be bought out were frozen out by questionable methods. The oil trust was determined to be master of the oil trade in the United States. Standard Oil and its interests invaded the oil fields about the Black Sea of Russia. Here they soon got control. Other places were invaded with the same result.

Standard Oil won by co-operation. The railroads, at the mercy of which the people are, have merged their lines and pooled their interests till they are supreme in their domination of transportation. The Armours, the Swifts, the Cudahys and the Nelson-Morris Co. have gotten closer together year by year till they absolutely control the price of meat, hides, tallow and all the other products of the packing houses. They have accomplished this by simple co-operation.

A tiny stream starts from a sparkling fountain high up in the mountain. A small boulder could effectively dam the little stream as it flows down the mountain side. It babbles over the ledges and rocks that impede its progress; it sparkles in the sunshine or darkens in the shadow, as it rushes past the bare rocks. The mountain climbers step across it at one bound. Other streamlets join it; it becomes a brook; other brooks mingle their waters with it and it becomes a river.

No power on earth can check or long retard the mighty current of the river. No man can build a dam high enough or strong enough to shut it in, or stop its flow. Factory wheels are turned by its current, and ships flying the flags of every nation and freighted with the commerce of every clime, pass in and out upon its broad bosom. The co-operation of the tiny streamlets has

produced a mighty river that all the boasted powers of man cannot check.

OTHER TRUSTS.

That which is true of the giant concerns here enumerated is true of others equally as pernicious and greedy. Time and space will not allow, in a work of this nature, to give anything like a detailed account of the trust and its methods of co-operation. This is to be a history of the Farmers' Union, and these concerns are mentioned here for the purpose of conveying a moral. They are given to show the farmers what they could do if they would co-operate together.

With the rise of the farmers' organizations a co-operative movement was deemed advisable. As the subject was more fully discussed by the meetings of organized farmers, the necessity became more apparent and the demand more imperative. The Alliance, one of the largest farmers' movements in the history of the United States, was insistent for co-operation in buying and manufacturing, and in the chapter devoted to the Alliance and kindred organizations, this subject will be treated more fully than it can be done here.

In the West, the movement has crystallized into the form of grain elevators and co-operative creameries. These have in most places met with success. Some, owing to lack of business management and foresight, have failed, but the proportion of failures is small in comparison to the number in operation. Failures were to be expected, and those who have been foremost in promoting the co-operative enterprises have been surprised at the number that have succeeded, rather than at the number that have failed.

These grain elevators have been the means of putting the control of wheat, oats and corn largely into the hands of the farmers. The old line elevators, controlled by the trust, have made a desperate fight to stamp out the independent concerns. The farmers, however, have been true to their obligation, and in most places have won against the combinations of money and influence. This influence has been employed to destroy the independent or co-operative grain elevators, but be it said to the credit of the people in the sections where the co-operative elevators have been organized, they have adhered to the co-operative plans.

The old line elevator people, the trust, have sought to destroy the independent concerns by paying a higher price for grain. Whenever and wherever this is practiced the farmers sell their grain to the old line people, and pay the independent concerns the commission, thus sustaining an aggressive opposition. Iowa and

Kansas have been battlefields in which regular warfare has been waged. Lyman T. Barringer and C. C. Messerole, of Iowa, have long been leaders in the fight in those States.

The inhabitants of the grain belt and corn growing section have, too, been at the mercy of the avaricious speculators. The grain pits of Chicago are among the largest gamblers' resorts in the world. In these pits the millions of bushels of corn and wheat grown by the farmers of the West are manipulated according to the moods of those who control the pits. The grain speculators are not alone in their unjust and unrighteous dealings with the farmer. The meat packing concerns fix the price of hogs and live stock shipped to them from every section of the country. These selfsame packers name the prices that the consumers shall pay for the dressed meats.

Some idea of the vastness of the operation of these meat packing concerns may be gained when it is recalled that Armour & Co. alone butcher 13,000 hogs daily, and 3,500 beef cattle. It is said that the output of their lard department is 1,000,000 pounds per day, and they manufacture 500,000 tin cans and pails during the same time. They also own the refrigerator cars in which the peaches, melons and vegetables grown in every section of the United States are shipped. They also have a monopoly of the blood and tankage used in the manufacture of commercial fertilizer. The kainit mines of Germany, and the cotton seed business are either owned or controlled by these people.

Some forty-three years ago the meat packing trust had its beginning, and gradually but surely it has, serpent-like, wound its coils about independent businesses, till today there is little of these left to oppose the destructive forces of corporation greed. The growth of the West is astonishing. Less than a half century ago hardy pioneers drove their ox-carts into many sections of the prairie country west of the Mississippi. They had but few household goods, but what did they care? They had the blue sky above and the broad, rich earth underneath. They built for themselves sod houses, and founded an empire. They were satisfied with their surroundings, because they were carefree and happy. The earth yielded them an abundance of wheat and corn, and the bison roaming tamely over the vast, treeless plains, furnished them with meat.

These settlers redeemed the land, and good homes were built, where lately the Indians had practiced their acts of savagery. The land yielded incredible amounts of wheat and corn. The schemers began to plan how to get control of these valuable products. The farmers, ignorant of these plans, allowed the schemers to get control of the elevators and thus dominate the prices and the place

of marketing. The price of grain gradually depreciated. Exorbitant elevator charges were levied against the sellers of grain. Each year saw the farmers getting poorer and the grain dealers and speculators getting richer. Corn, under the domination of the trust, was sold as low as eight to ten cents per bushel.

The people became aroused and evinced a splendid determination to get rid of speculative interest by building co-operative grain elevators. They saw their homes in danger, and they themselves becoming serfs. Valuing their homes and loving their hearthstones, as do all American citizens, they called meetings and held conventions, out of which has grown an elevator system which bids fair to offer successful opposition to the destructive inroads of the grain trust.

The love of home, the birthright of the American people, has been the chief moving power in the fight against the grain trust, and why should it not? For, as the writer says, there is no word in the English language comparable to that of home, except mother and home, and these may be said to be comprehended in the word home. It was the love of home that lent a fury to the arm of the farmers about Concord and Lexington, on that eventful April day when the British decided to quit Charleston for the purpose of routing the insignificant forces called minute men. Then was fired the shot heard around the world. It was fired by American farmers in defense of their homes. No army ever fought as did the starved and ragged legions of Washington and Gates. The sufferings at Valley Forge are the most eloquent eulogy that could be paid to the patriotism of the men who went barefooted, marking their steps on the frozen ground with their own blood. These patriots have bequeathed to posterity the priceless legacy of freedom. They signed the document with their own blood, and that signature carries with it the inalienable rights of liberty. This liberty the speculators have by combination sought to wrest from the great masses of the common people.

The American nation was founded upon the theory that the common people should have homes of their own. The principle, every family with a home, and every home with a family, was a paramount idea with the nation builders. This idea has been transferred from father to son until the name American has become synonymous with home itself. Men work and starve and save for years to secure a little patch of dirt upon which to build a home for wife and loved ones, but in this age the trend under speculation is toward the accumulation of vast estates and a complete control of that substance produced by the farmer. A complete system of co-operation is the only means by which these speculators can be met and defeated.

CHAPTER X.

PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES—EQUITY AND JUSTICE—THE GOLDEN RULE—BUYING AND SELLING.

PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF THE ORDER.

THE setting forth of the principles and purposes of the order is laborious, but a work of love.

When fury has lent an impetus to the charging army or given expression to deeds of violence in times of peace, there have been several reasons for it. These reasons may not have been clear at all times, but existed nevertheless. Oppression, actual or implied, lay behind the movement of the army or the action of the mob. Men in a country like ours either have, or fancy they have, a good and sufficient reason for every action.

So, in setting forth a history of one of the most remarkably aggressive movements the country has ever known, a discussion of the leading principles and purposes is necessary to a full understanding of the chief reasons that lie behind it all and out of which the order has grown.

In the first clause of the declaration of purposes is found the words: "To establish justice, to secure equity and to apply the Golden Rule." An attribute of God himself is justice, a part of His nature. The thoughts of Deity are founded upon this lofty principle, more enduring than the rock-ribbed hills of granite, and as eternal as God Himself.

Statesmen and thinkers in every age of the world have sought for this, as some in the past have sought for the philosopher's stone or the fabled fountain of immortal youth. Justice is represented by a pair of scales evenly balanced, breaking neither way. Moore in his Utopia dreamed of a happy place where full justice was done every man. That this has not been realized, even in an age of civilized progress truly marvelous, is a wonder to some. However, when one class of people are confronted by the greed and oppression of another class, justice seems a long ways from ascending her throne and wielding her sceptre of right. The thinker still cavils at the inhumanity of man to man, and sometimes asks in

despair if the time will ever come when full and equal justice will be done all.

No class of people has ever suffered at the hands of another class as has the farmers at the hands of trusts and combinations. Laws, courts and legal proceedings have all been on the side of the trust oppressors. Bankers, manufacturers, merchants and others have received the bulk of the attention of legislatures and congressional biders. There are today fifty laws on the statute of any State favorable to banks, factories and business concerns where there is one favorable to the farmer or his interests. These laws have created trust combinations so powerful that they can enter the hall of congress and dictate every phase of legislation. The farmer has endured this injustice so long and so patiently that it has become a sort of second nature for him to meekly accept anything that is handed out. His meekness has been communicated from father to son, until it is practically a fixed principle. The children have come largely to think of the well-dressed, do-nothing set as being better than they.

The Farmers' Union demands justice for all alike. In that demand they ask that legislatures and congresses do for them what they have done for others—pass laws that will be beneficial to their interests. The demand does not include special or class legislation, but such legislation as shall be fair and just to all.

GOLDEN RULE.

The Golden Rule, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you," is the climax of a true man's ambition, but commercialism has changed this rule to "Do others before they do you."

Franternalism can set no higher standard of ethics by which to be governed than the application of the Golden Rule, and the application of that lies at the very bottom of all the dealings and transactions of any order that has for its purpose the ameliorating of evil conditions of any class. This rule is a safe one by which to measure the actions of individuals or the rule of corporations. The Farmers' Union, believing in the principle of right and not might, and believing that right and truth will prevail, attaches much importance to the Golden Rule.

CREDIT AND MORTGAGE SYSTEM.

"To discourage the credit and mortgage system," is declared to be, if not the most important of these clauses, at any rate one of the very important ones. The credit system and farm mortgage usages throughout the country is one of the baneful curses of farm

life. Farmers secure advances on crops to be produced, and are charged exorbitant prices for goods. Usually a mortgage is taken upon the goods and chattels of the one securing the advance. In some instances farmers have been charged three dollars for a pair of brogan shoes that retail in the market for one dollar and twenty-five cents, and eight to ten dollars for a very cheap grade of flour. By this system two hundred to five hundred per cent is charged by the merchant. The farmer who farms on a credit is obliged to take whatever the merchant offers and pay him his price for the same. The merchant is most always amply secured by mortgages many times the value of the amount furnished. The farmer and his family live in mortal terror of this advance merchant, and are his slaves and must do his bidding. Some merchants figure his allowance so as to keep the farmer in their debt year after year.

Is it any wonder that the farmer feels the oppression and wears a hang-dog look, even on Sundays when he goes to church, and ought to be happy? The Farmers' Union is setting about to change all this, and while the process is slow, it is gradually being done. Some figures given on the decrease of mortgages in the States where the Union is organized, by T. J. Brooks, of Tennessee, will be of interest as an evidence that it has a record on its work:

"We find that in Texas, where it has operated longest, the reduction in mortgages has been sixty-five per cent; in Oklahoma, forty-five per cent; in Arkansas, forty per cent; in Tennessee, in organized counties, thirty-nine per cent; in Alabama and Georgia it has a like record."

A comparison of these figures with the figures of mortgages filed in other States where the Union has not been organized or is yet in its infancy, will reveal the thoroughness of the teaching and the success of the teacher. The farmers have proven themselves apt pupils, and have learned their lesson well.

The old system of buying fertilizers on the cotton note plan may be given here as an illustration of the method of the credit and mortgage system in vogue before the coming of the Union, or before the days of farmers' organizations. The dealer in fertilizer we will call Mr. Smith, the farmer we will call Mr. Brown. Farmer Brown goes to town in January and stands around Mr. Smith's office for an hour or two. He wants to tell Mr. Smith that he wants some guano, but cannot screw his courage up to the point. Finally one of Mr. Smith's clerks asks if there is anything "we can do for you today?" "Yes," answers Mr. Brown, "I want to see if I can't arrange to get some guano." Mr. Smith overhears this conversation, and replies, "Well, I don't know. Guano has

advanced lately, and I am not so sure that I will handle much of it this year. What I do let out, I will have to have good security. Times, you know, are awfully hard, and money is scarce."

By this time Farmer Brown is trembling down in his boots, and is ready to sign any kind of a contract. The following dialogue takes place:

Mr. Smith: "How much guano did you want?"

Farmer Brown: "Well, let's see; I want four tons, if I can get that much."

Mr. Smith: "Four tons! Goodness gracious, man! Guano is awfully scarce and mighty high. What kind of security can you give?"

Farmer Brown: "Well, I don't hardly know; what kind do you want?"

Mr. Smith: "Well, let's see; I want notes, well secured."

Farmer Brown: "I can give you a cotton note, due the first of October."

Mr. Smith: "Well, I reckon I can take a cotton note, but I don't want to. You see, times are awfully hard."

Farmer Brown: "Well, fix up the note, and I will sign it."

Mr. Smith has a note drawn up which specifies that Farmer Brown shall on the first of October next deliver to the said Smith seventeen hundred pounds of good middling cotton, for and in consideration of four tons of guano. The note creates a lien upon Brown's crop, and gives Smith the right to enter, seize the amount of cotton stipulated, and, further, that Brown shall pay all the cost of collection, attorney's fees, and so on. This is an actual occurrence, that may be witnessed most any day in spring in any town or hamlet in the South.

Is it, then, any wonder that the farmer smarts under these conditions and wishes for some agency by which they may be rendered better? Instances there are where men have grown rich and supercilious by such methods as that detailed above.

To aid each other in buying and selling is the one great aim of the movement, and this aim is being realized to a remarkable degree. To others will be left the duty of instructing the farmer how to grow larger crops than he has ever grown before. Agricultural schools are charged with this responsibility, but the Union will devote its energies and direct its attention toward better prices for that which is already grown. Here is where the Union meets a long-felt want apparent to every farmer.

The buying proposition is also one of no minor importance. The farmer has been, and still is, being charged enormous profits on

the goods he buys. The credit prices are out of all keeping with right and justice and too often the cash prices are but little better.

On the subject of education, a chapter has already been devoted, and it is necessary only to say that the Union is beginning to realize the necessity for better schools. This happy condition of affairs is due to the influences of the Union.

Crop classification is also dealt with in this chapter as a part of a fixed determination to educate along practical lines of benefit to the farmer.

Another avowed purpose is to bring the farmer up to the same standard as that of other classes. That the farmer has not considered himself of the same standing, or even superior to any other profession or calling, is his own fault. Should he continue to regard himself as the inferior of any profession, he deserves to be the inferior. The Union is struggling to get him to see himself as he is—the superior of every class of men on the face of the earth. Will he see it? Stern necessity will compel him to, and the sooner he does see it the sooner he will take his place among men as he should be—the superior of all.

TO ELIMINATE GAMBLING IN FARM PRODUCTS.

Gambling in farm products has done more real harm to the farmer than all the droughts, pests, and diseases with which he has to contend on his farm. Droughts come and destroy or cuts his crop. Pests, like the caterpillar, the boll worm and the boll weevil in cotton States, and the locust and other pests in the grain States, annually destroy millions of dollars for the farmer. Diseases play their part in lowering production. The loss from these is very large, but the operation of the grain pits and cotton exchanges by gamblers who grow fat on the sweat and toil of the poor farmer, cost the farmer many more millions annually than all these destructive elements combined.

Shall these bloodsuckers continue in the future as they have in the past, to suck and grow fat? The Farmers' Union is an answer, and acting on the unmistakable avowal of its fixed purpose steps are being taken to relegate these to the rear. In a chapter to be devoted to the methods of the Exchange, the subject is treated thoroughly.



STATE OFFICIALS, LOUISIANA DIVISION.

1. J. E. BILLARD, State President.
2. C. R. KELLEY, Member State Executive Committee.
3. J. N. DAVIS, Member State Executive Committee.
4. L. W. S. JONES, Member State Executive Committee.
5. DR. N. A. CULBERSON, Member State Executive Committee.

CHAPTER XI.

BIRTH AND ORIGIN OF THE UNION—CHARTER—DECLARATION OF PURPOSES—THE CONSTITUTION—BY LAWS—REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION—DR. LEE SEAMSTER'S EARLY EXPERIENCES WITH THE ORGANIZATION.

BIRTH AND ORIGIN OF THE FARMERS' UNION.

THE first local Union was organized at Smyrna Schoolhouse by Newt. Gresham, on the second day of September, 1902.

The following officers were elected: Dr. Lee Seamster, Emory, Texas, president; J. B. Morris, Emory, Texas, vice president; O. H. Rhodes, Emory, Texas secretary; W. T. Cochran Emory, Texas, treasurer; Newt. Gresham, Point, Texas general organizer; T. J. Pound, J. S. Turner, T. W. Donaldson, Jesse Adams and W. S. Sisk, all of Emory, Texas directors. Thus it may be seen that the first local Union was made up of ten men.

The second local Union was organized on the third day of September 1902, by W. T. Cochran. Early in the work W. S. Sisk was elected secretary-treasurer. The charter of the first local Union was revoked because of the stand it took in politics. To quote Mr. Sisk: "We had quite a lot of trouble getting the Union started off right." Of the original ten, Lee Seamster was a practicing physician, O. H. Rhodes was county clerk, and Newt. Gresham a newspaper man. All owned farms, except Newt. Gresham and J. S. Turner. These were farmers living on rented farms.

A constitution and by-laws were adopted on the night of the organization. The first constitution embodied the principles which were later worked out by the various conventions that have met from time to time. The by-laws are practically the same today that they were then. Time and the needs brought about by the rapidly growing order have made these amendments necessary, and these changes have come as the organization has grown and the necessities become apparent.

Newt. Gresham was sitting on a log one day at a cross-roads country store, and observed the few woebegone and debt-depressed farmers who came and went. Doubtless Newt. Gresham recalled

the time when the Grange, the Wheel and the Farmers' Alliance had made heroic but unsuccessful effort to break away from such conditions as he was then witnessing, and in his heart of hearts he desired to aid them. There came to him, as if by inspiration, a hope that he might be able to assist them and thus redress their many wrongs. He, too, was poor and, like them, had faced the credit and mortgage system then cursing the South. His influence with the rich and powerful could not be said to be of any considerable extent.

The more he thought of his and his neighbors' wretched conditions, the more determined he became to make at least one desperate effort in behalf of the farmers of his neighborhood. He did not know whether those whom he wished most to benefit would even be considerate enough to listen to his proposition. He went away from the country store with a heavy heart. He issued a call for his friends and neighbors to meet him. A few came and heard him outline his plan. Nine men besides himself thought favorably enough of the plan to agree to the formation of an organization. Some others did not think it would be of any benefit to the masses of the farmers, and Gresham was told by these that the farmers would not stick.

Sometimes I think of Gresham as being like Mahomet, who when he became imbued with the idea that there was "one God, and He was good," prepared a great feast, to which he invited his relatives, his friends and his acquaintances. When this assembly had feasted, Mahomet stood up and told them of his vision, declaring that there was but one God, and he (Mahomet) was His Prophet. This declaration was received with derision. Two only of the crowd, Kajiah, his accomplished young wife and his idiotic nephew, were all that believed in him. The others went away, laughing at Mahomet's idea.

Shortly after the first local Union was organized at Point, Newt. Gresham was invited to another community to tell about the new organization, of which he was the founder. Soon other invitations of like nature came to him, and within the next few months many local Unions were organized in Rains and other nearby communities. It soon became apparent that organizers must be sent out. The first commissions to organizers of local Unions were issued to Alex. Williams of Emory, Ed Gresham of Point, Tom Carroll of Como, R. F. Duckworth and J. J. Ross of Brimker, and with this corps of organizers in the field this new organization grew very rapidly.

This condition of affairs went far to demonstrate to the mind of Newt. Gresham that his first purpose to organize the farmers was

a correct one, but as the demand for locals to be organized increased with each day, he formulated a plan to carry the work on in a more extensive manner. Organizers were sent into Arkansas, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Indian Territory, Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia. The successes with which these organizers met will be more fully told in a subsequent chapter. It is sufficient to say that all the organizers worked with a will, but they had fierce opposition from many who feared that the Union would prove detrimental to their interests. The organization was without newspapers, and many of those papers that afterward proved friendly to the order were afraid to openly espouse the cause of the Union. Some went so far as to dissuade the farmers from joining. The trust, seeing in the struggling order the possibility of dangerous antagonism, was not slow in doing all that could be done to thwart the movement. The politicians cried polities, and many took a firm stand against the Union. If ever an organization had to face more trying enemies and defiant opposition than the Union in the earlier days of its existence, no man now living knows when or where.

THE CHARTER.

On August 28, 1902, Dr. Lee Seamster, O. H. Rhodes and J. S. Turner filed in the office of T. S. McGee, official notary public for Rains County, Texas, an application for charter for the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America. This application was filed in the office of John G. Todd, secretary of the state, on September 17, of the same year. The seal of the State of Texas was affixed to this charter on January 9, 1906, by O. K. Shannon, then secretary of state, at Austin, Texas.

The charter as filed and approved is here given:

CHARTER.

THE STATE OF TEXAS, /
COUNTY OF RAINS. {

Be it known that we, the undersigned citizens of Rains County, Texas, hereby make application for a charter for the following purposes, towit:

1. The name of the Corporation shall be "The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America."
2. The purpose for which it is formed is to organize and charter subordinate Unions at various places in Texas and the United States, to assist them in marketing and obtaining better prices for their products, for fraternal purposes, and to co-operate with them

in the protection of their interest; to initiate members, and collect a fee therefor.

3. Its place of business is to be in the State of Texas, and its business is to be transacted in Texas.

4. It shall exist for a term of fifty years.

5. The number of its officers and directors shall be ten, as follows:

Dr. Lee Seamster, Emory, Texas, President; J. B. Morris, Emory, Texas, Vice-President; O. H. Rhodes Emory, Texas Secretary; W. T. Cochran, Emory, Texas, Treasurer; Newt Gresham, Point, Texas, General Organizer: T. J. Pound, J. S. Turner T. W. Donaldson, Jesse Adams, W. S. Sisk, all of Emory, Texas, Directors.

It shall have no capital stock paid in, and shall not be divided into shares.

Witness our hands this the 28th day of August, A. D. 1902.

DR. LEE SEAMSTER,
O. H. RHODES,
J. S. TURNER.

THE STATE OF TEXAS, }
COUNTY OF RAINS. {

Before me, the undersigned authority, on this day personally appeared Dr. Lee Seamster, O. H. Rhodes, and J. S. Turner, known to me to be the persons whose names are subscribed to the foregoing instrument, and acknowledged to me that they executed the same for the purpose and consideration therein expressed.

Given under my hand and seal of office this the 28th day of August, A. D. 1902.

(SEAL) T. S. MAGEE,
J. P. and Ex-officio Notary Public, Rains County, Texas.

(Endorsed) Filed in the office of the Secretary of State this 17th day of September, 1902.

JOHN G. TODD, *Secretary of State.*

I, O. K. Shannon, Secretary of State of the State of Texas, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the charter of The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, with the endorsements thereon, as now appears of record in this department.

In testimony whereof, I have hereto signed my name officially and caused to be impressed hereon the seal of State at my office in the city of Austin, Texas, this the 9th day of January, A. D. 1905.

(SEAL) O. K. SHANNON, *Secretary of State.*

The growth of the order now made a more comprehensive declaration of principles a necessity, and the following preamble setting forth these principles as here given was adopted:

PREAMBLE.

Speculators and those engaged in the distribution of farm products have organized and operate to the great detriment of the farming class.

To enable farmers to meet these conditions and protect their interests, we have organized the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, and declare the following purposes:

- To establish justice.
- To secure equity.
- To apply the Golden Rule.
- To discourage the credit and mortgage system.
- To assist our members in buying and selling.
- To educate the agricultural class in scientific farming. ✓
- To teach farmers the classification of crops, domestic economy, and the process of marketing.
- To systematize methods of production and distribution.
- To eliminate gambling in farm products by Boards of Trade, Cotton Exchanges and other speculators.
- To bring farmers up to the standard of other industries and business enterprises.
- To secure and maintain profitable and uniform prices for grain, cotton, live stock and other products of the farm.
- To strive for harmony and good will among all mankind and brotherly love among ourselves.
- To garner the tears of the distressed, the blood of martyrs, the laugh of innocent childhood, the sweat of honest labor and the virtue of a happy home as the brightest jewels known.

In a preceding chapter I sought to show the extent to which the efforts made by the membership of the Union to secure better educational advantages have gone, and in a succeeding chapter I shall endeavor to show by incontrovertible facts the success of the fight made against the speculators in farm products. In fact, the statements given in this history may be truthfully said to be but an elaboration of this preamble.

If the reader carefully studies every paragraph of the preamble he will readily see the effects of it upon the movement of the membership of the organization, and if he has kept posted on current events he will understand how thoroughly the teachings of the preamble has became inculcated into the rank and file of the Farmers' Union.

CONSTITUTION.

The Constitution adopted at the time of the charter is practically the one in force today, and upon this constitution is based all the laws that govern the body. Every applicant for membership in

the Farmers' Union is in duty bound to observe and respect this constitution, and that those who may not be familiar with it may have a chance to study and understand it, I deem it advisable to insert it here:

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—MEMBERS.

SECTION 1. All persons are eligible to membership who are of sound mind, and over the age of sixteen years, a white person or Indian of industrious habits, believe in a Supreme Being, is of good moral character, and is a farmer, farm laborer, rural mechanic, rural school teacher, physician or minister of the gospel; who is not engaged in banking, merchandising, practicing law, or belongs to any trust or combine for the purpose of speculating in agricultural products of the necessities of life, or directly affecting injuriously the agricultural interests; provided, the owning of bank stock by an actual farmer shall not be construed as making him a banker as long as his principal support comes from the farm; provided, further, that all editors of newspapers are eligible to membership who will take the following obligation:

"I, _____, do solemnly promise upon my honor that I will openly support the principles of this Union through the columns of my paper, the _____, and will do all in my power to promote the upbuilding of the cause of agriculture and the interests of this Co-operative Union, and should the time ever come when I cannot consistently do so, I will quietly withdraw from the Union, and will remain silent concerning the workings of the same."

Provided, further, that said editor be not engaged in any of the occupations prohibiting membership as previously provided.

SEC. 2. A membership fee shall be paid by each male member. Said fee shall be fixed by the Board of Directors for the States not having a State Union, but after a State Union has been chartered the fee shall be fixed by such State for its own jurisdiction; provided, the fee in any State shall not be less than one dollar. Strict account shall be kept of the receipts and expenditures from each unorganized State, and when a State Union shall be perfected any excess of receipts over expenditures from such State shall be paid into the treasury of such State within thirty days after the chartering of such State Union.

SEC. 3. Females are eligible to membership on the same conditions as males, without the payment of fees or dues.

SEC. 4. The dues of the National Union shall be eight cents per year per capita, payable quarterly. Each State shall collect and must remit before the close of each quarter the dues for the current

quarter, and upon receipt of said remittance the quarterly password shall be forwarded by the National Secretary to the State Secretary, and by him forwarded through the regular channel to the secretaries of all local Unions in good standing; provided, the next National Union may reduce the national dues five cents per annum, without submitting the same to a referendum vote.

SEC. 5. Each State Union shall have full power to regulate dues within said State, for State, county and local purposes; provided, a State may include the National dues in the State dues or make a separate item of the same, as it desires.

SEC. 6. A special assessment of ten cents per capita is hereby levied, and shall be due immediately upon the ratification of this Constitution and By-Laws, and must be paid within ninety days thereafter. The proceeds of this assessment shall be known as an organization fund, and be used exclusively for extending the Union; provided, that after State Unions have been formed in all agricultural States, this fund may be transferred to the general fund; provided, the current quarterly password shall not be given until this assessment is paid.

SEC. 7. Should these By-Laws be adopted in lieu of those now in force, then all arrears of dues from organized States shall be canceled and all amounts heretofore received by the General Secretary from any State Union, either as a loan, contribution or payment of dues, shall be refunded as soon as the condition of the treasury will permit.

SEC. 8. No member is entitled to the quarterly password until all dues for the current quarter are paid.

SEC. 9. No person shall be disqualified from membership on account of his religious or political views.

SEC. 10. Any person qualified for membership under these By-Laws wishing to become a member of the Union after the Union has been organized and chartered, shall be required to offer his or her application in writing at a stated meeting, giving age, occupation and why he or she wants to become a member, application to be accompanied by initiation fee. Upon receipt of same the President shall appoint a committee of three to investigate the character of the applicant, who shall report as soon thereafter as convenient. The candidate may be initiated at said meeting, if he so desires, and it suits the convenience of the Union.

SEC. 11. All elections for membership in the Unions shall be by ballot, and three black balls shall reject.

SEC. 12. No person shall be eligible to membership who has not lived within the jurisdiction of the nearest Union to him for at least three months; provided, however, that should he be able to furnish proof of good moral character and good citizenship where he formerly lived, he shall be considered eligible to membership.

SEC. 13. When an applicant has been rejected or a member expelled from the Union, he shall not be permitted to renew his application for the space of three months.

SEC. 14. Any member clear on the books and otherwise in good standing, wishing to transfer his membership to another Union, shall be furnished a dimit signed by the President and Secretary under seal.

SEC. 15. Any person holding a dimit and wishing to become a member of another Union, shall file his dimit with the Secretary-Treasurer of the Union to which he makes application for membership and shall be declared elected only upon a two-thirds ballot; provided, that the Secretary-Treasurer shall collect from the applicant dues from the date of the dimit at the rate of current dues; provided, further, said dimit shall be void unless application is made within ninety days after issuance.

SEC. 16. When personal or pecuniary differences arise between members of the Union, it is hereby recommended that as a last resort the Union shall take it up and arbitrate the matter, in which case the Union shall take such steps as it sees proper, and from which decision there shall be no appeal.

SEC. 17. Provision is hereby made by which any local Union may separate and form two Unions by a two-thirds majority vote, in case its membership becomes too large or unwieldly.

An extra charter will be furnished them without cost by the National Secretary, when application has been made, by giving names of charter members; provided, the new Union shall not be located nearer than one mile from the parent Union.

SEC. 18. Where it is deemed best for the good of the Union two local Unions may unite their membership by a two-thirds vote of each Union and by surrendering the charter to the National Secretary.

SEC. 19. If any member shall disclose or divulge the secrets of the Union to any one not entitled to receive the same, he shall, upon conviction, be expelled from the Union and his name published throughout the jurisdiction of the Union.

SEC. 20. The local Union shall be required to meet as often as twice a month and shall have as many call meetings as the business of the Union may demand.

SEC. 21. All committees shall be appointed by the President unless otherwise ordered by the Union.

SEC. 22. All members present at any meeting shall be required to vote on all questions proposed; provided, visiting members may be considered in an advisory sense, but are not allowed to vote.

SEC. 23. A county Union may be formed in any county having five chartered Unions.

SEC. 24. A county Union shall be composed of its officials (when elected) and one delegate for every ten members or major-

ity fraction thereof, and one delegate from the local Union at large; provided, any county may change basis of representation by a two-thirds vote at any regular meeting.

SEC. 25. It shall be the duty of each local Union to see after and render assistance to all sick and distressed members; and the President, Chaplain and Vice President shall constitute a relief committee, and upon evidence of the sickness of any member the President shall appoint a committee to render all necessary assistance, who shall have authority to use any funds belonging to the Union not otherwise appropriated.

SEC. 26. In all unorganized States it shall be the duty of the local Secretary to remit all membership fees monthly to the National Secretary and all dues quarterly in advance for the current quarter.

SEC. 27. All elections of officers shall be by secret ballot, unless by unanimous consent.

SEC. 28. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of five male members.

SEC. 29. Nothing of a religious or partisan nature shall be discussed in the Union, and any member guilty of violating this section shall be expelled from the Union after the second offense.

ARTICLE II.—OFFICERS AND DUTIES.

SECTION 1. The officers of the National Union shall be a President, Vice President, Secretary-Treasurer, General Organizer and five Directors; provided, the office of Secretary-Treasurer may be filled by the same individual.

SEC. 2. The President, Vice President, Secretary-Treasurer and Directors shall be elected annually and hold office for a term of one year or until their successors are elected and qualified.

SEC. 3. The election of General Organizer and the work of the organizing department shall be left to the Board of Directors.

SEC. 4. The Board of Directors may appoint an attorney and such agents or other representatives, and employ such persons as may be necessary to properly conduct the business of the Union, but all such appointments shall be subject to the pleasure of the Board as to the time of employment, and the Board shall fix the compensation for officers not otherwise provided for.

SEC. 5. The Board of Directors shall have power to designate the manner of keeping the books and records and accounts of the Union, and it shall be their duty to see that all accounts are kept in a neat, accurate and proper manner, and that the books are written up and posted at all times, to the end that an inspection of the same at any time will disclose the true condition of the Union. They shall require a monthly trial balance to be taken at the close of each month. At the end of each fiscal year they

shall cause to be prepared a full and complete statement, showing the condition of the Union, a statement of the receipts and disbursements, and shall cause such statements to be published in the Union papers.

SEC. 6. The Board of Directors shall have power to remove any officer, agent or employe at any time for misconduct in office, incompetency or dishonesty; provided, the accused has the right to be heard at a trial before all elected officers, the accused excepted.

SEC. 7. The Board of Directors shall have power to fill any vacancy in the Board or in any office by an appointment. Such appointee shall hold office for the unexpired term, or until the next annual meeting, unless removed for cause.

SEC. 8. The Directors shall receive for their compensation a per diem of three dollars a day, transportation and an allowance of two dollars a day for expenses, when called from home.

SEC. 9. The Board of Directors shall provide a good and sufficient bond in a reliable surety company for all officials and employes whose duty it is to handle the money of the Union.

SEC. 10. The annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held immediately after the adjournment of the National Union.

SEC. 11. The regular quarterly meetings of the Directors shall be on the first Tuesdays of December, March and June.

SEC. 12. Special meetings may be called by the President or three Directors, five days' notice by wire or ten by mail having been given each member, designating the purpose, time and place of holding such meeting.

SEC. 13. Three members of the Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SEC. 14. The President shall be the executive officer of the Union. He shall preside at the annual meeting and appoint such officers as are necessary from the delegates present to aid him in opening and closing the annual meeting in ritualistic form and preserving order and secrecy of the session. He shall decide all questions of constitutional law. He shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Directors, but shall have no vote except in case of a tie, and shall perform such other duties as may be required of him by the Board of Directors. He shall receive for his services a salary of \$600.00 per year and a per diem of \$3.00 per day, transportation and an allowance of \$2.00 per day for expenses when called from home.

SEC. 15. The Vice President shall perform the duties of the President in his absence, or in case of his inability or refusal to act.

SEC. 16. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep a record of the proceedings of each annual meeting, and also of each annual meeting of the Board of Directors. He shall receive and receipt for all money due the Union and pay out the same upon the order of the

Board of Directors duly signed by the President. He shall keep the books of his office in accordance with the instructions of the Board of Directors, issue all charters, in unorganized States and for State Unions, and perform such other duties as may be required of him. He shall receive for his services a salary of \$1,200 a year and transportation and an allowance of \$2.00 per day for expenses when called from home.

SEC. 17. No National officer shall hold any county, State or National office.

ARTICLE III.—NATIONAL UNION.

SECTION 1. The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, hereafter designated as National Union, shall be composed of its officers and one delegate for each five thousand members or majority fraction thereof, who have paid dues for the current quarter; provided, that any State having a chartered Union shall be entitled to at least one representative.

SEC. 2. All delegates to the National Union shall receive actual expenses for attendance not to exceed \$2.00 per day, and transportation to be paid by the National Union.

SEC. 3. The annual meeting shall be held on the first Tuesday of September in each year, at such place as may be designated by the Board of Directors.

SEC. 4. All delegates to the National Union shall file their credentials with the National Secretary-Treasurer at least ten days prior to the annual meeting, and said credentials shall be signed by the President and the Secretary-Treasurer of the State Union.

SEC. 5. Delegates absenting themselves from the session of the National meeting without consent of the presiding officer, shall not be allowed expenses.

SEC. 6. The National Union, when assembled, shall adopt and declare minimum prices on all farm products, which may be considered sufficiently in control of the membership to give reasonable grounds for hoping to maintain said prices; may make its own rules and regulations governing the actions of the body; and make such amendments to By-Laws as deemed advisable; provided, that all amendments shall be submitted in writing and passed by two-thirds vote of the delegates present, and thereafter must be submitted to a referendum vote of the entire membership to be voted on within not less than thirty nor more than sixty days after adjournment of the National Union, and must be ratified by majority of all votes cast before becoming effective. A uniform date shall be provided by the Board of Directors for holding such elections.

SEC. 7. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of one or more delegates from a majority of the states entitled to representation.

ARTICLE IV.—INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

SECTION 1. The right of the initiative and referendum and imperative mandate shall not be denied the members of the Union.

SEC. 2. Five per cent of the membership may petition the President to submit to a referendum vote any measure or ask the recall of any officer, and upon receipt of such petition he shall submit the same to a referendum vote of the entire membership, naming a date for said election not less than thirty days and not more than sixty days from the time of receiving said petition; and if a majority of the members voting for such measure or recall shall have cast their vote for said measure or recall, the President shall immediately declare the same to be enforced.

SEC. 3. The Board of Directors shall establish uniform rules for holding all referendum elections and provide necessary blanks and return envelopes. The report of said vote shall be signed by the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the local Union and the seal of the Union placed upon the same and sealed up in the presence of the Union and at once placed in the mails. Ten days after such election the Board of Directors, assisted by the President and Secretary-Treasurer, shall count and declare the result of such election.

ARTICLE V.—STATE UNIONS.

SECTION 1. Any State having a membership of 5,000 male members may be granted a State charter.

SEC. 2. Each State shall have the right to regulate its own fees and dues for State, county and local purposes, enact all laws, rules and regulations governing the membership and subordinate Unions in its jurisdiction; provided, said laws, rules and regulations shall not conflict with this Constitution and By-Laws.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of each State Secretary to at once furnish the National Secretary with the names and number of local Unions of male members in good standing, together with the name and postoffice address of each local Secretary.

SEC. 4. All additions to the membership and changes in the office of local Secretary shall be reported quarterly at the time of remitting dues to the National Secretary by the State Secretary.

SEC. 5. Dues for the National Union shall be enforced and apply for the fourth quarter of 1906, and shall at once be due and payable upon the ratification of this Constitution and By-Laws.

ARTICLE VI.—CHARTERS.

SECTION 1. The charter of any local, State or county Union may be revoked for the following causes and no other:

First—For failure to pay dues on or before the last day of the quarter for which such shall be levied.

Second—For open violation of the Constitution and By-Laws under which such Union may be chartered.

Third—Where such charter was obtained through fraud or misrepresentation and where the true conditions existing, at the time the charter was issued, did not justify the issuing of said charter.

SEC. 2. The President of the State Union only shall have the right to revoke the charter of a local or county Union under his jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. The President of the National Union shall have the right to suspend the charter of the State Union; provided, such suspension is approved by the Board of Directors and then such suspension shall be enforced until the next annual meeting, to which body the right of appeal is reserved to the defendant State, and if the National Union shall affirm the action of the President and Directors then said charter shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. States having been chartered shall have full power to issue all charters within their jurisdiction.

SEC. 5. No local Union shall be organized with less than five male members, and no charter shall be issued until the fee of \$15.00 has been paid.

SEC. 6. In unorganized states county Unions may be chartered when five Unions in said county have secured charters.

SEC. 7. A charter is the authority under which a Union works, and it is the duty of the President to see that the charter is present when the Union is open for business.

SEC. 8. Duplicates for all charters lost or destroyed will be issued without cost to any such Union; provided, satisfactory evidence is furnished the Secretary-Treasurer of the State or National Secretary under whose jurisdiction the same was issued; and provided, further, that the names of the officers are supplied.

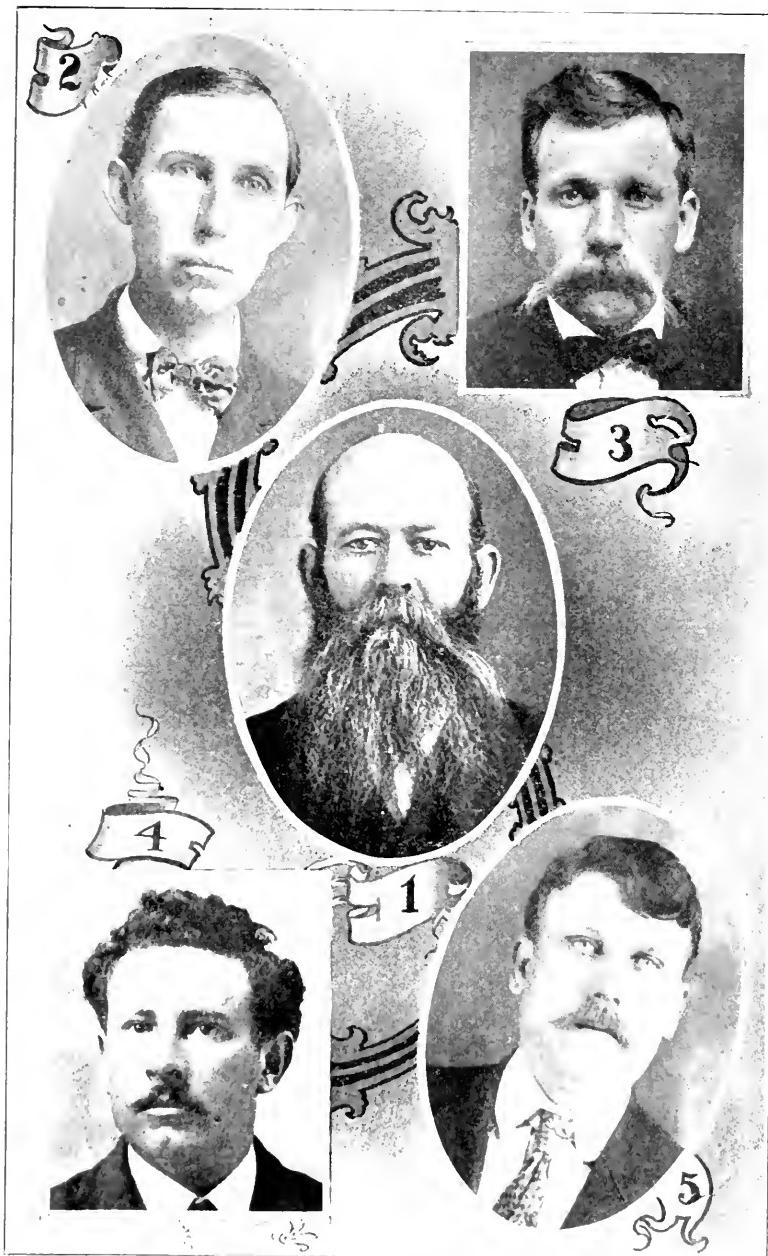
ARTICLE VII.—RITUAL.

SECTION 1. The ritual and secret work of this Union is hereby declared a part of the organic law; provided, nothing be allowed in said ritual that conflicts with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Union; and provided, further, that said ritual may be revised and changed at any National meeting without being submitted to a referendum vote.

SEC. 2. The ritual adopted by the National Union shall be used in all Unions throughout its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to furnish the State Secretaries, at a minimum cost, the required number of rituals for each State, from time to time, upon proper request being made.

SEC. 4. The ritual is the property of the National Union, and when a charter is forfeited all rituals belonging to such Union



STATE OFFICIALS AND PROMINENT WORKERS, LOUISIANA DIVISION.

1. L. N. HOLMES, Ex State President.
2. J. N. DELOACH, State Secretary Treasurer.
3. J. W. BOYETT, Jr., Ex-State Secretary Treasurer.
4. R. LEE MILLIS, Vice President.
5. JASPER BOYETT, Organizer and Lecturer.

must be returned to the State Secretary under whose jurisdiction the charter was forfeited.

A majority of the clauses of the Constitution, as here given, were adopted formally by the State of Texas, and later by the National Union when it became an organic body. The By-Laws were also adopted by the Texas Union, as also an order of business which are still in force at the present time.

BY-LAWS.

SECTION 1. Each delegate to any Union shall present written credentials from the Secretary of his Union.

SEC. 2. All members of the Farmers' Union in good standing present at any meeting of the Union shall be considered advisory members of that body.

SEC. 3. All members in good standing shall be required to vote on all questions unless excused by the President, who shall vote only in case of a tie, and in balloting.

SEC. 4. A majority vote of all members present entitled to a vote shall decide any question before any meeting, unless otherwise specified.

SEC. 5. No member shall vouch for another in any Union unless they have been together in open Union within the quarter.

SEC. 6. On the election of a Secretary of any Union, at any time, notice shall be immediately given to the Secretary of the State and County Unions.

SEC. 7. Any officer who shall fail to fulfill the duties, or absent himself from his Union for three stated meetings in succession, without valid excuse, shall be suspended from office.

SEC. 8. Any proposed amendment to these By-Laws shall be in writing, at a stated meeting of the State Union, and if two-thirds of the members present vote for the amendment, it shall be adopted.

SEC. 9. The discussion of partisan polities in any Farmers' Union shall forever be prohibited, and any member guilty of violating this law shall be expelled from the order after the second offense.

All State, parish, district, county and local Unions, wherever organized, are under the control and government of the constitution and by-laws. There is no other law for the government of these bodies, except by the rules as laid down in the organic law. The wisdom becomes apparent when the growth of the Farmers' Union is considered.

At Texarkana, in 1906, a committee of five revised and brought

up to a higher standard the present constitution. This constitution remains today, with a few modifications and alterations, as it was drafted by the committee. Under this constitution the Union continues to grow and prosper. As time and experience make the necessity apparent, the national conventions will revise and alter the constitution as they deem proper.

EARLY ORGANIZATION.

Dr. Lee Seamster, one of the original ten, and president of the board, gives some very interesting facts about the earlier organization, and brings out some of the causes of dissatisfaction over the organization of a National Union. Dr. Seamster says:

"In the little town of Emory, Texas, in the year 1902, ten men met at various times and fully discussed the methods of formulating rules and plans by which the laboring masses might be allowed a voice in the pricing of their farm products. After meeting quite a number of times we decided to make an effort to organize the farmers and laborers. We proceeded to elect officers. We were all poor men, and, of course, it required money to put our plans in operation.

"A sum of money was borrowed and deposited in the bank. Our committee reported and our constitution and our ritual were received and all advertising matter and other blanks were at hand, and we then put organizers in the field. The work progressed very slowly, and each month we checked on our deposit. For five months I sat over the books and listened to the words, 'We had better quit this foolishness, for we are growing deeper and deeper in debt.' At last the receipts began to meet the disbursements, and our little efforts began to reach quite a magnitude, and everybody was discussing the progress of our Union. In 1903 we saved to the farmers of our county \$6,000 in what is known as the ginners' contract. The same year nearly \$500 was saved by shipping our cottonseed ourselves.

"Our untiring energy soon brought us to statehood in Texas. But, remember, that some pharisees, scribes and hypocrites had crawled into our camp and desired to set aside the original ten, and take charge themselves."

At the conclusion Dr. Seamster says: "The Farmers' Union was instituted to make men better, more noble, and to unite the laboring millions. To cause more confidence; to inspire in us that which is right; to live up to the Golden Rule; not to restore some

old, broken-down politician; not to cause or encourage rascality; not for official personal gain, but for the betterment of the condition of mankind."

Hew to the line, and cut out every obstacle that has been thrown in your pathway, that would hinder the progress of the Farmers' Union in this nation. Attend our local Unions; be prompt; live up to your privileges, and let your motto be VICTORY, and finally we will achieve that grand victory that will lead to the accomplishments for which we set out. Inspire in yourselves the enthusiasm of Capt. Starks: "Get good men in office and dispose of some Benedict Arnolds that you now have, and success will crown your efforts."

ATTENDANCE UPON THE UNION.

From one end of the country to the other farmers flocked into the Union. Everywhere witnessed the same unanimity of desire. Along with these same farmers came a lot of men who had more or less political aspirations. In some way, they expected to be the recipients of honors in the political world. A local Union in Mississippi indorsed a candidate, and the charter was immediately revoked by President Bass. The charter of the first local Union in Texas was revoked, as stated in another chapter, because it got into politics.

In some places where the politicians and demagogues could not have their way, they tried to stir up strife and discourage the members by telling them that the Union was no good. However, in most places a faithful few were found assembling on meeting nights, and thereby kept alive the spark of Unionism in their community. A poem from the *Railroad Trainmen* marked "Selected" appropriately describes the faithful ones, and is here given by way of encouragement:

THE FAITHFUL FEW.

When the meeting's called to order
And you look around the room,
You're sure to see some faces
From out the shadows loom,
That are always at the meeting,
And stay until it is through;
Those you sure can count on,
The Always Faithful Few.

They fill the vacant offices,
And are always on the spot,
No matter what's the weather,
Though it may be awful hot;
It may be dark and rainy,
But they're the tried and true—
The ones that you rely on,
The Always Faithful Few.

There's a lot of worthy members
Who come when in the mood,
When everything's convenient,
Oh—they do a little good;
They're a factor in the order,
And are necessary, too,
But the ones who never fail us
Are The Always Faithful Few.

If it were not for these faithful ones
With shoulder at the wheel,
To keep the order moving
Without a halt or reel,
What would be the fate of orders
That have so much to do?
They surely would go under,
But for The Faithful Few.

CHAPTER XII.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT—HOW THE UNION CAME TO RECEIVE ITS NAME—WAREHOUSES, FERTILIZERS—THE UNION PRESS—ABSENCE OF GRAFT—HOW GROWTH HAS BEEN HINDERED—THINGS ACCOMPLISHED BY THE UNION—PLOWING UP COTTON—REDUCING PASSENGER RATES—STATE FAIR—LETTER FROM LADSON—THE MEMPHIS COTTON COMPANY—WHAT IT HAS DONE—SELLING COTTON WITHOUT SAMPLES, ETC.—UNION CONSOLIDATED WAREHOUSE COMPANY OF GEORGIA—PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH TO SUCCEED.

HOW THE UNION CAME TO RECEIVE ITS NAME.

THE birth of the Farmers' Union was an auspicious occasion in the history of the American farmers. In many states the mortgage and credit system had well nigh bankrupted the farming element. Farms were covered by mortgages that drew tremendous interest. The farmer, struggling for a few years to pay off these mortgages, often found himself unequal to the task. His farm was levied upon by the sheriff, and sold in front of the courthouse steps to the highest bidder. An agent of the company who had loaned the money was usually the purchaser of the property. Farm after farm was passing out of the hands of small land owners into that of money-lending concerns. The country was fast drifting into the possession of a few.

The holders of farm mortgages learned one day that an organization of farmers had been perfected for the avowed purpose of discrediting the mortgage system. They were told that it was the Farmers' Union. People came to speak of it by that name, and the newspapers in giving reports of meetings always designated it as the Farmers' Union. Sometimes they used the abbreviation of the F. E. & C. U. of A., without knowing the significance of these mystic letters.

The real name is the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America—a name known over the earth. England and Continental Europe are as familiar with this name as any State in the country.

In the preceding chapters much has been said of the State Unions, and their history will be given in detail. These chapters deal with every phase of the movement, from the first local Union to the present time.

So marvelous has been the spread that it is a matter of astonishment to its most sanguine friends, as well as to its most bitter and unrelenting enemies.

The Union, beginning as it did, with a mere handful of uninfluential farmers, none rich or powerful, has grown by leaps and bounds. It began along the gulf region of the South and spread north and west to Maryland on one side and to California and Washington on the other. It practically covers the entire farming sections of the United States today. No order has had such unprecedented growth as has the Farmers' Union.

While the growth has been phenomenal, the development along all lines of co-operation has in every State kept pace with this growth. The Farmers' Union now has a system of warehouses in every cotton-growing State in the South. Every State organization has a newspaper to herald messages relative to Union matters. Some of the States either own or control fertilizer plants.

There are several hundred cotton warehouses for the reception and storage of cotton. These warehouses are in direct touch with each other by means of a central cotton company in each State. These are but a system of independent selling agencies co-operating together for the general good and the welfare of the membership of the Union. The warehouse system has received much attention, and the perfecting of the system has been one of much concern to those charged with the duty of getting the system in first-class working order.

In a report made by J. G. Eubanks, State business agent of Georgia, the following occurs, which very clearly explains the system of warehouses:

"Some twelve months ago we began to agitate the building of warehouses. We saw then, as now, no way by which we might open a channel to reach the markets of the world with our products, especially cotton, without a system of warehouses, and on our advice of building warehouses by local corporations, holding that each warehouse company should be a separate and distinct company, that all local companies may bond themselves as a capitalized company, giving each warehouse company a commercial rating, thus making each warehouse a gateway through which the county and local Unions may do business, the many warehouses over the State not to be merged into one great trust,

only by contract as salesman for the producers, who are the real holders of cotton, as well as other products.

"This makes the producers the co-operators through this system. To complete the system we must have a cotton company serving as a bridge over which we will be able to reach the markets of the world, keeping absolute possession of our cotton until we have reached the spinner. This is necessary that we may stop the stealage that exists under the present system. Through the system as promulgated by the Farmers' Union, we will be able to carry the package, in its original shape and neatness, direct to the spinner, which, when offered, will command a better price than the speculators would be able to command under their disgraceful methods of handling cotton. On this advice the membership has organized warehouse companies in more than half the organized counties in the State, some counties having as many as three warehouse companies, there being now about sixty warehouses in the State built or in operation, or in process of construction. I am sure that we will have some seventy-five warehouses completed by the first of September, and that many will be opened for the season ready to do business through our co-operative system. The speculators of the country are shifting around trying to head us off in this movement. They still contend that we are not able to do business without the intervention of some great speculative company between us and the spinners, and they have tried every State Business Agent to get an insight as to how we expected to do this business. Their only hope now in being able to use us is based on their belief of our ignorance of the situation. This matter I am only stating behind closed doors.

"The European spinners are demanding a change in the former system as practiced by the cotton speculators of this country. They have previously been condemning the American producer for the condition of cotton as it is received in Europe, but through the agency of the Farmers' Union we have been able to satisfy them that the farmers of the South have exerted every effort to give their cotton a neat and stout wrapping, but to our astonishment, when we see our cotton at the ports with great holes cut between all ties, and at least 10 per cent of its original net weight gone, which before it crosses the waters and while in transit has been made up with most miserable wrapping of old coffee and sugar sacks, or anything they could get hold of and with absorption in transportation, has been brought up to its original weight, which the spinners are forced to pay, less 6 per cent tare. These pirates of transportation are always careful to get the full 6 per cent wrapping on a bale, without the least regard for its neatness.

"A cotton speculator told me recently that he would rather have the 'rake-off' between the gin and the port than to have the entire profit made off the cotton crop.

"As sure as you are living, this is a part of the old system

which we are most vitally interested in, but to destroy it we will have no easy battle. On this point I do not wish to deceive you into the idea that it will be an easy victory, but we, the Union men, are going to stand in line until the battle is won."

FERTILIZERS.

Next to the price of cotton nothing more directly concerns the farmer than that of commercial fertilizers.

In most of the cotton-growing States the soil has become impoverished by indiscreet farm methods and long tillage of the land. Such land will not grow remunerative crops without artificial aid. Farmers have devoted the best years of their lives to growing cotton and wearing out their fields. Fertilizers are necessary, and hence the necessity for establishing fertilizer plants for the manufacture of it. Such plants have been established in Georgia and other States are planning for factories.

In an address delivered to the membership of the Union is was truly said:

"The great fertilizer combines, the Virginia-Carolina Chemical Co., the Reed Fertilizer Co., the Royster, Armour, Swift and other smaller fertilizer people, have so solidified their combines that the voice of one is the law of all. It is their purpose to hedge us off on every movement. They have tried to fool us into the idea that they were in possession of all the available phosphate mines, but I will state to you that they are not, while they are pushing their plans to get possession of the entire phosphate fields at as early date as possible. Once this is done they will have us hopelessly at their mercy. I tell you we must act now or never in this matter. Will you take hold of this matter at once? For by so doing you can stop the plundering of our people by these bandits. You are unnecessarily paying seven million dollars each year above a legitimate profit to fill the vaults of their coffers. This on fertilizer alone. The time I say to act is now, and I think that you are too intelligent to defer it, and too loyal to our plans of co-operation to let these people head us off and get full and complete control of such a monopoly."

These have been established, and as a result the prices of fertilizers have been lowered and millions of dollars have been saved to the farmer of the South.

UNION NEWSPAPERS.

A trying ordeal was that of securing recognition from the press. When the Union began it was without newspapers, and the press was slow to recognize the movement. The Union now has a press

association of its own composed of the *National Co-operator*, A. W. Grant, editor, Fort Worth, Tex.; *Farmers' Union News*, R. F. Duckworth, editor, Union City, Ga.; *Farmers' Union Guide*, *Agricola & Crouch*, editors, Birmingham, Ala.; *The Union Sun*, J. Whitner Reid, editor, Columbia, S. C.; *Arkansas Union Tribune*, M. F. Dickinson, editor, Conway, Arkansas; *The Union Farmer*, W. D. Crews, editor, Murphysboro, Ill.; *Union Farmer and Messenger*, A. H. Cather, editor, Birmingham, Ala.; *Farmers' Union Banner*, J. N. Deloach, editor, Winnfield, La.; *National Union Farmer*, J. F. Griffin, editor, Memphis, Tenn.; *Union Review*, J. K. Armstrong, editor, Ardmore Okla.; *Carolina Union Farmer*, J. Z. Green, editor, Marshville, N. C.; *Mississippi Union Advocate*, B. F. Ward, editor, Winona, Miss.; *Our Southern Home*, Eric Von Elexon, editor, Laurel Hill, Fla.; *The Guide*, Orange Herrington, editor, Ellisville, Miss.; E. M. Rogers, Topeka, Kas., and George B. Lang, Langdon, Col., each have a paper. Pacific Farmers' Union, J. M. Reid, President-Manager, Pullman, Wash.

Prejudice is being overcome, and the West and the South are joining hands in the fight for the rights of the farmer as never before. The demand for universal brotherhood is as insistent in the waving grain fields of the West as in the snowy cotton fields of the South.

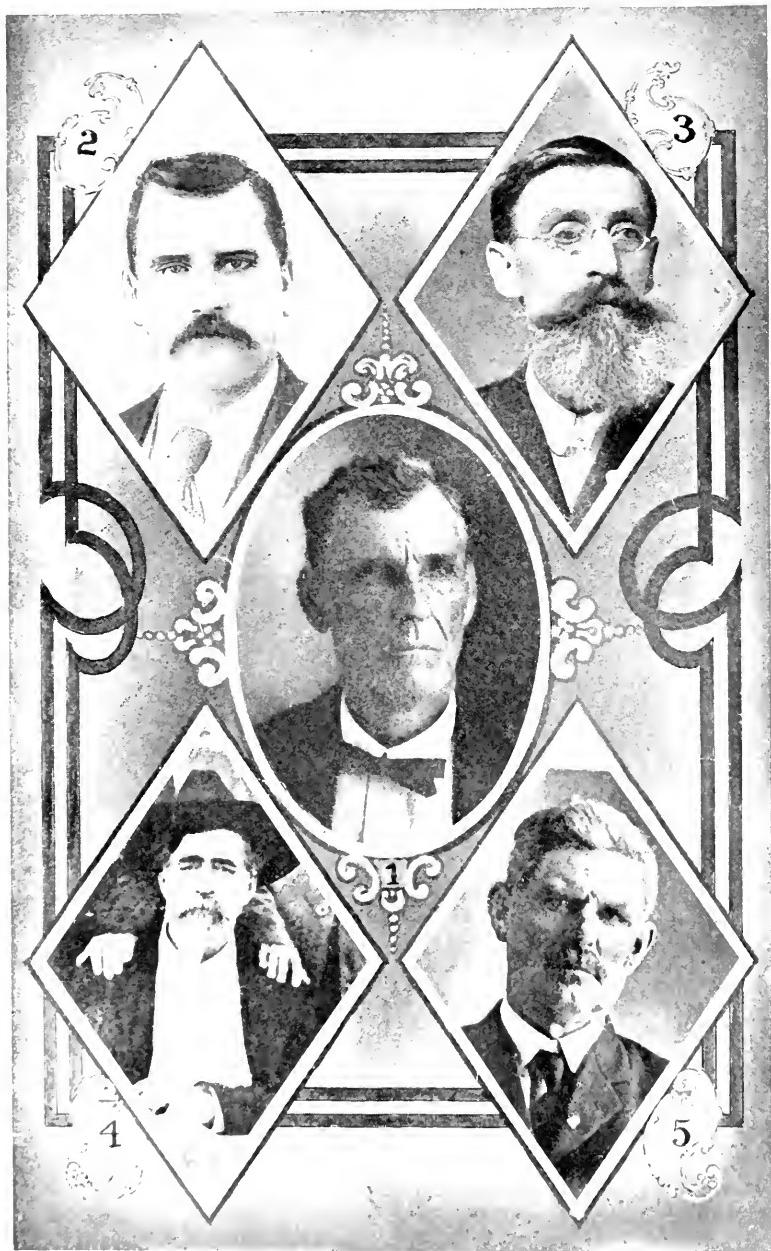
"From Maine's dark craigs of pines and snow,
To where the magnolias blow."

Is to be heard the same universal and heart-yearning demand. Nowhere on the American continent is there a place where this feeling does not exist.

ABSENCE OF GRAFT.

In closing this chapter on growth and development, a short paragraph or two upon graft in the Union is admissible. No organization of the size and diversity of membership has been so free from graft as has the Union. There has been no indictment brought against any official charging him with graft. This is a little remarkable, when all things are considered. That there have been incentives to graft cannot be questioned, but the rank and file have remained loyal and refused themselves to become a party to any kind of graft, or to allow others to practice it upon the Union.

One of the principal charges brought against some of the leaders in former organizations was that they practiced graft, and these charges, whether true or not, were believed to the extent that some of them had trouble to disprove the charge. From the smallest



STATE OFFICIALS AND EX STATE OFFICIALS, ARKANSAS DIVISION.

1. JOHN BOWERS, SR., State President.
2. A. N. JONES, Vice President.
3. J. T. BATTON, Ex State President.
4. D. P. TUNSTALL, Ex State President.
5. J. D. DOYLE, Ex Member State Executive Committee.

to the greatest, the membership and the officials have steered clear of any and every form of graft. This is something to the credit of the Union, when the number of members and the number of States now organized are considered.

HOW GROWTH HAS BEEN HINDERED.

Among the many remarkable things that one finds out when he becomes interested in any kind of a reform movement, is the lack of patience shown on the part of some. The impatient fellow is not willing to work on and wait. He makes trouble for everybody, and is ready to kick out of harness if everything is not done instantly that he wants done. He is not willing to submit to those in authority, or if he is in authority himself, he too often throws down everything and quits for the most trivial provocation.

Sometimes a very intelligent fellow finds the rank and file too ignorant to be led along lines of usefulness, and he says, "down with such rabble; I'll wash my hands of them and have nothing more to do with the ignorant gang!" These kind of fellows are found by thousands all over the country, carping and cavilling against those who are trying to do something. Censure seems to be their chief stock in trade.

One reason why reforms have not moved with greater rapidity is because the intelligent fellows who are all the time finding fault will not come in and help. If they do come, they are oftentimes a real hindrance rather than a help.

Some join to get their friends into an official position, and when they can't, they quit and say the Union is not doing anything. Others join to get into office themselves, and when they can't, they quit, too. Some of those who join have a great financial scheme by which they expect to make a great fortune, and pretty soon they find that they can't ride the Union, and they quit. Then there is a large crowd of those who expect to turn the world over in a day, and because things do not go fast enough to suit them, they either sulk or quit. All of this is because of the lack of patience. Whoever goes into a movement like the Union must expect things to move slowly and they must possess a lot of patience.

Some are impatient because we have not established a perfect system of marketing, and they are inclined to raise a howl. They go about saying that the system is not good, and is but the result of untried plans in the minds of the leaders. We must not become impatient because the Farmers' Union has not yet established a perfect system of marketing. It took years to build up a great system which controls prices. Do not be discouraged because

you have not overthrown that system. You are building more rapidly than they have builded, and more solidly. They builded upon greed and graft, while you are building upon justice and equity.

THINGS ACCOMPLISHED BY THE UNION.

Some people sometimes ask what has the Union ever done to commend it to the respect of the people and the admiration of the world? Were I to attempt to give all the incidents, and single out the repeated instances, time would fail me and the result would be a book of many thousand pages instead of a comprehensive book for the ready reference of busy people. This book is for the busy ones, and must set forth in short and concise sentences what has actually been accomplished.

In May, 1907, the National President issued a manifesto requesting the membership to plow up at least ten per cent of the cotton crop. From Texas to North Carolina hundreds of members loyally obeyed the mandate and plowed up a portion of their crop. Some plowed up more than ten per cent, others a less amount. The land plowed up was planted in corn and the cotton acreage considerably decreased. A record of the names of all who plowed up their cotton has been kept, and is on file for future reference.

This sacrificial act on the part of the farmers, when many of them could not seemingly destroy a part of their living and deprive wife and children of comforts, speaks volumes for the willingness of the membership to help win the fight for better prices for cotton. This act was a severe test, but be it said to their credit that they stood it in a manner that convinces the world that the Farmers' Union stands for something.

HOLDING COTTON.

The struggles of the membership to hold cotton for higher prices furnishes another epoch in the progress and advancement of the farming class in the South. From the days of the civil war to the present, there have been but few efforts made to maintain anything like profitable prices for cotton. These efforts have been of very little real benefit to the farmers. The Alliance did make a sporadic effort to influence the cotton market, but with few direct results. The first real beneficial movement of the kind originated with the membership of the Farmers' Union. This idea was a predominating one at the time the first State Union was organized at Mincola, Texas, and was among the principles proclaimed by every lecturer and organizer sent into the field either to arouse the membership or to plant new lodges in virgin territory.

These cotton holding movements inaugurated year by year have been the means of saving the Southern farmers millions of dollars. A system of warehouses stretching like a continuous chain from the northern limit of cotton to the coast line are material aids in the movement.

REDUCED PASSENGER RATES.

During 1906 and the earlier months of 1907 much was said and written about cheaper freight rates. Reduced freight rates was a political slogan in many States during 1906-1907, but in the South very little was said about cheaper passenger rates on the railroads. Some of the Western roads had been forced by legislative acts to reduce passenger fares from three to two cents per mile, but in the South many who were strong advocates for a reduction in freight rates thought that it would not be wise to reduce the passenger rates.

The opponents of reduced passenger rates pointed out that it would cripple the railroads and destroy the passenger service. This argument was heard in many quarters, and there was none bold enough to champion the cause. Accordingly, early in the year 1907 the State officials, acting for the Farmers' Union of Georgia, filed a petition with the Railroad Commission of the State praying for a reduction in passenger rates.

The hearing before the Railroad Commission consumed several days, and attracted to Atlanta a host of railroad experts and attorneys. The best attorneys procurable were present in behalf of the railroads, and argued every question and contested every point. The State officials were alone in their fight. No outside help was volunteered by any of the organized or commercial bodies, and none was given. The labor bodies of Macon had a representative present who opposed the reduction of the passenger rates. The officials had arranged for an attorney, but at the last moment it was discovered that he could not be present, and they were forced to secure another. With this attorney, secured at the last moment, the officials with a single attorney who had had no time to prepare himself for the hearing, went before the commission and made such an effective showing that their petition was granted.

A reduction was secured on all the principal lines running through the State.

The best and ablest lawyers were in attendance to aid the railroads in their resistance of reduced rates, and the strongest fight on record was put up. The best railroad men and the highest railroad officials attended. The petition created a flurry in railroad circles and throughout the State.

A copy of the petition is given below as follows:

"To the Railroad Commission of Georgia, Atlanta, Ga.:

"GENTLEMEN—Believing that the present passenger rate of three cents a mile in this State is too high, and that there ought to be a reduction thereof, we write to ask you to consider this matter, reduce the passenger rate and make such a rate as will be reasonable and just both to the railroads and to the public. We believe that the present passenger rate can be reduced, and ought to be reduced. We believe that this should be done in justice to the public, and would suggest that you take into consideration the adoption of the two-cent rate so generally fixed by various States during the past few months.

"We do not wish to be unfair and unjust to the railroads. It is in this spirit that we ask you, in behalf of the farmers of Georgia, to consider the present rate and to reduce the same to such a point as will be both reasonable and just to all parties at interest.

"Yours truly,

"C. S. BARRETT, *President National Union;*
"J. G. EUBANKS, *Business Agent Georgia State Union;*
"J. L. LEE, *Organizer Georgia State Union;*
"R. F. DUCKWORTH, *President Georgia State Union;*
"J. L. BARRON, *Secretary-Treasurer Georgia State Union."*

GEORGIA STATE FAIR.

The holding of the agricultural fairs for the purpose of bringing together the products of different sections has long been customary. These fairs vary in scope from small county fairs to great fairs of international importance. These fairs sometimes have a beneficial influence upon the visitors and incite in many a desire to grow as good or better things than those exhibited.

For quite a number of years the Georgia State Agricultural Society held a State fair at some point within the State of Georgia during the month of October. Fairs had been held at Macon, Valdosta and Atlanta under the direction of this Society. When the Farmers' Union had come to embrace many counties in Georgia, the fair management set aside a day to be known as the Farmers' Union day at the State fair. These days were among the best in point of attendance, as more people came from the country sections than upon other days.

This condition of affairs being observed, *The Farmers' Union News*, R. F. Duckworth, editor, in an editorial suggested the idea of the State fair management putting the supervision of the fair

into the hands of the Farmers' Union. The idea met with instant response, and accordingly the supervision of the fair for 1908 was turned over to the Farmers' Union.

WAREHOUSE SYSTEM.

UNION CITY, GA., November 20, 1908.

Hon. C. T. Ladson, Atlanta, Ga.:

DEAR SIR—I would be glad to have you outline a practical plan of co-operation by which our warehouse system may be made more effective.

You understand that we have several hundred warehouses in the South that do not seem to me to be doing as much for the financial interest of the farmers as they ought. These warehouses have been built and financed by the farmers at great expense in time and money, and a plan by which they could be made to pay better and be of better service to the Union would be very acceptable.

The farmers seem to lose sight of the fact that other interests pool their holdings and thereby control the price of their commodities. If you will, as I feel sure you can, outline a practical and systematic plan for getting those warehouses to co-operate, you will do a great service to the Union.

Very respectfully yours,

C. S. BARRETT, *National President Farmers' Union.*

REPLY.

ATLANTA, GA., November 25, 1908.

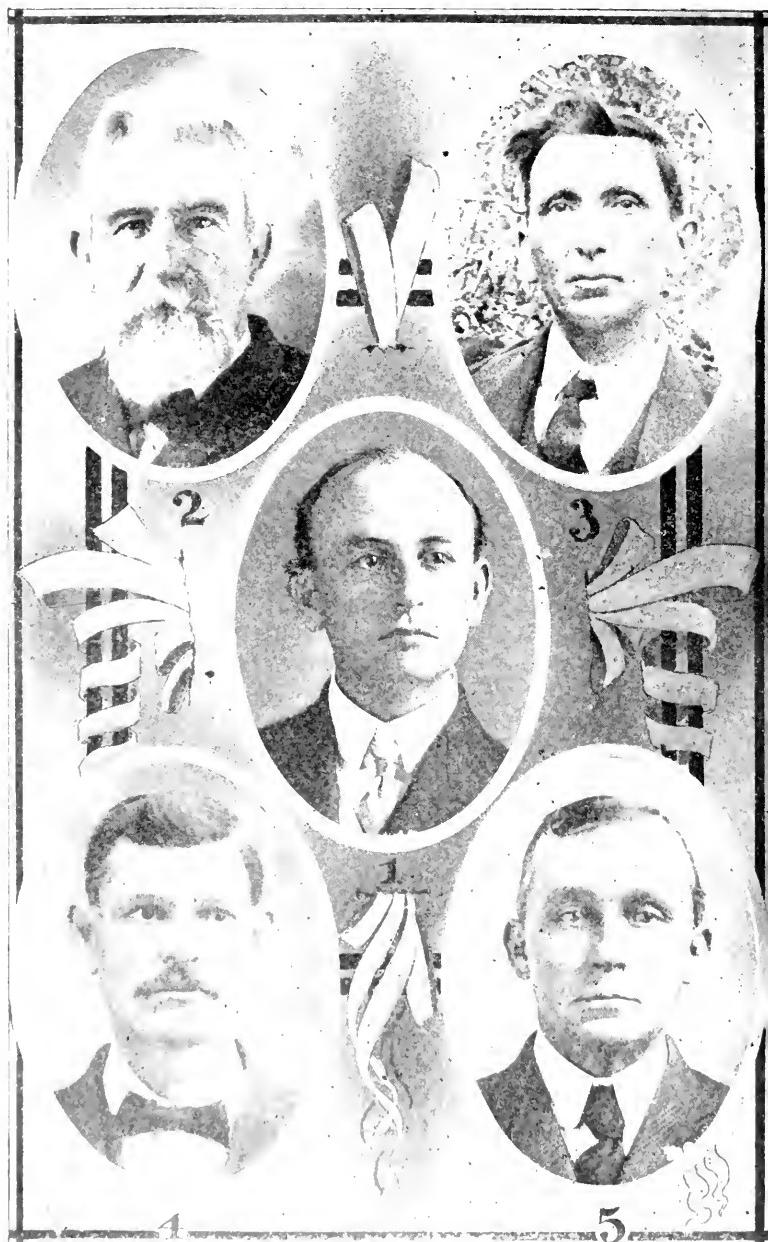
Mr. Chas. S. Barrett, President National Farmers' Union, Union City Ga.:

MY DEAR SIR—Replying to your valued favor of the 20th (wherein you ask me to "outline a practical plan of co-operation by which our warehouse system may be made more effective") I have the honor to submit the following:

(1) While the Farmers' Union warehouses, under separate ownership and management, are of great benefit, yet it is also true that much greater benefits can be secured by federating such warehouses into state and interstate central companies.

(2) The reasons for this are manifold, but the principal one is that it will enable the members to borrow more money, and *at greatly reduced rates of interest.*

(3) As matters now stand your members find it difficult, as a rule, to borrow money on the receipts of such warehouse com-



STATE OFFICIALS, ARKANSAS DIVISION.

1. M. F. DICKERSON, State Secretary-Treasurer.
2. F. W. BROOKS, Member State Executive Committee.
3. W. D. WALKER, Member State Executive Committee.
4. L. M. BURGE, Member State Executive Committee.
5. J. E. ROGERS, Member State Executive Committee.

panies, except from local bankers and merchants, and have to pay therefor high rates of interest. City banks, as a rule, will not lend money on such collateral, not deeming it sufficiently safe, because such individual warehouses have but a few thousand dollars of physical assets, and rarely have any commercial rating.

(4) One of the main causes for low prices of cotton is because too much cotton is "dumped" on the market in the early fall months, instead of being held back, and sold out as the world needs and demands it. Whatever will substantially aid the farmer in holding his cotton, and to sell and supply the same according to the demands of the buyers and spinners, means better prices. This is merely stating a truism, a fact which every intelligent cotton grower knows.

(5) By federating all the Farmers' Union warehouses in each State, and forming State central companies, these central companies, having such great financial strength, would quickly attain high commercial ratings, and warehouse receipts or certificates, guaranteed by such central companies, would be regarded as A1 security or collateral, in any bank in the United States.

(6) And, when State central companies have been successfully operated for a season, then, as a further beneficial step, these *inter-state* central companies should be formed, say in groups of three or four States, throughout the cotton belt. The combined assets of each of these *inter-state* central companies would furnish such splendid and enormous financial strength as to make other guaranteed warehouse receipts good collateral, not only in this country, *but in Europe*.

(7) By the aid of these strong central companies ten dollars could, doubtless, be borrowed where one dollar can be borrowed now, and at about *one-half* the rates of interest now currently charged.

(8) In my opinion, the forming of these central companies would, also, vastly tend to increase the number of Farmers' Union warehouses throughout the South; and, furthermore, would also greatly lessen insurance rates, etc.

(9) Furthermore, I respectfully submit that the forming of such strong central companies will have to *precede* the forming and successful operation of central *selling companies*. Under the present system of individual, widely scattered, and often isolated, warehouses, each under separate control, it is hardly possible for central selling agencies to be successfully carried on.

(10) Of course, to successfully carry out these plans will require a great deal of sound business sense. It will require loyalty

and confidence and co-operation of the membership now owning such warehouses, as well, also, of the rank and file of the entire membership. The most experienced men should be placed at the head of such central companies, and every responsible officer and agent should be required to give fidelity bonds. The central companies should arrange to borrow the needed funds, and no favoritism should be shown to one warehouse or locality more than to others, in the distribution of borrowed money.

(11) The legal documents creating such central companies should be so prepared as to fairly and fully protect each and every stockholder's interest in the present individual companies.

(12) Such central state and *inter-state* companies can be legally formed by either exchanging stock now held in individual companies for stock in such central companies, upon a fair and equitable basis, thus absolutely conveying and merging all individual companies' properties into central companies; or

(13) By the formation of central *holding* companies, by providing that such central companies shall merely act as *trustees* under limited, specified powers, the equitable title to the various individual companies to remain in them, and in their stockholders.

(14) By either plan arrangements could doubtless be made to allow certain advisory duties to be performed by present board of directors in such individual companies, such as nominating local warehousemen, etc., subject to the approval of the central companies.

(15) It is impossible in a letter to more than briefly outline plans of this character. As previously stated, in order to make these central companies successful, the loyalty, confidence and support of your membership *must be forthcoming*, otherwise, such plans, when attempted to be put in operation, like another business undertaking lacking in these essentials, will result in failure.

Very truly and sincerely yours,

C. T. LADSON, *General Counsel of the National Farmers' Union.*

FARMERS' UNION COTTON COMPANY, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE.

The Farmers' Union Cotton Company, of Memphis, Tennessee, owned and officered by members of the Farmers' Union, was organized at Memphis in 1907. The present officers are as follows: J. E. Montgomery, President; G. R. Hightower, Vice-President; T. J. Brooks, Secretary; B. G. West, General Manager; R. L. Jones, Office Manager. Directors: R. H. McCulloch, H. P. Hudson, G. W. Russell, J. B. Lewis, and H. W. Kyle.

Some extracts taken from a booklet issued by this company will be of interest:

"A legal corporation of good financial standing, business ability and integrity of purpose is necessary to assist the Union member to sell his cotton to the best advantage. The Farmers' Union Cotton Company is such an institution. Its success depends entirely upon the support given it by the Union membership, both in using it as a medium through which to sell their cotton, and by members and unions taking all its stock as an investment, thus giving it the business and financial strength which it must have to secure proper recognition from the spinners of the world.

WHAT IT HAS DONE.

"It has been in practical operation only about eight months, and has grown from a comparatively unknown and unimportant factor into one of the largest and most important cotton handling institutions of Memphis.

"Where last fall it was without a single cotton connection, it now has many seeking trade relations with it. Last fall it was without friends among banks; it now has strong and influential ones. Last fall it could hardly induce any one to buy cotton from it or the Union; now it sells from the country warehouses direct, as well as from its Memphis, Liverpool and Manchester offices, and cotton men from Europe come to its Memphis office to get more in touch with it. Last fall it was spoken of in derision as the 'Farmers' Experiment Station'; this fall pages are written exploiting its useful systems.

"To sum up: Last fall it was an untried, unknown experiment, while this fall it has a successful season's business to its credit, during which thousands of bales of cotton have been satisfactorily handled. Supported by the prestige of this success, having won the victory, it now claims as a part of its deserts the confidence and patronage of every cotton producer in the fight it is making.

"This year we start on a proper business footing. Mr. R. L. Jones, formerly of Black Bayou, Mississippi, is the manager of the office, and being a man of systematic methods and having a sufficient and experienced office force, guarantees that every detail will be carefully looked after and satisfaction insured. All communications and shipments will be promptly acknowledged, and every care used to make your business with us pleasant and profitable."

The efforts of the Union for less expensive methods in reaching the spinner has caused some changes in these systems, which saves part of the cost of marketing. The plan most favored by the Union

has been the building of warehouses at centrally located country towns and the establishment of central offices in the large cotton centers for the purpose of becoming the agent between the mills and the producer, and thus eliminating more than one middleman. A striking illustration of this plan is to be seen in the workings of the Farmers' Union Cotton Company at Memphis, Tenn., under the management of B. G. West.

Below we quote from a circular sent out by this Union enterprise:

COUNTRY WAREHOUSE SELLING.

"This company sells, by samples, all cotton stored and intrusted to us, in Union country warehouses in the Memphis territory where there are lots of fifty or more bales of even running grade, charging a fee of fifty cents a bale, taking up and paying for it at Union warehouse as delivered. But before grading, classing, pricing, selling, etc., the company requires that an agreement be entered into, which places the cotton in our hands for sale, and stating what price will be acceptable. This does not mean that we will not get all we can for the owner, but it will be a guide as to what he expects.

SELLING COTTON WITHOUT SAMPLES.

"We also sell cotton stored in country warehouses, without the samples being sent to us; selling by grade and specifying price the buyer is to pay on each grade; the buyer taking up and paying for the cotton at the warehouse according to the price agreed upon here. It is impossible to sell cotton to spinners under forced sales, or except in even running lots of fifty bales or more, and it takes time to reach the mills; hence, we must be given control of the selling of cotton to reach the right market. Warehousemen desiring to use our facilities for selling cotton should write us.

PAYING FOR COTTON.

"When a sale is made the warehouseman storing cotton marks, weighs and ships, guaranteeing each bale to be free from damage; bagging and ties in good condition, and shipment correct in every detail.

"When the warehouse makes deliveries prompt settlements are made with the owners, through the warehouseman, or the owners direct, as soon as cotton is delivered to the railroad; hence the warehouseman must be a capable, honest man, and should be bonded; otherwise it will not be safe to accept his shipments, as this company guarantees the cotton to be in perfect condition when shipped, exactly as represented by samples from which sales are made, and that absolute honesty shall characterize every feature of the business.

"Another method is that spinners' representatives go to the Union warehouse, take up and pay for cotton and assume all responsibility for shipment and delivery.

SAMPLING.

"To save expensive trouble and insure correctness, each sample must represent the lowest grade of cotton in the bale, as that will be its standing. To secure this, samples should be drawn from each side and bored from the center of the bale. As we will have to split the sample, sending one to the spinner and keeping the other for the owner's and our protection, they should be large, weighing about twelve ounces.

"As the owner is responsible for mixed, false packing and damaged conditions, and the warehouseman guarantees the correctness of the samples and his work, both should readily agree to this and avoid reclamations, which are most annoying and expensive.

"Where the warehouse has an agreement with the company to sell cotton stored with them, and sends us proper samples (*express charges prepaid*) and each sample showing marks, weight and number, with name of owner and where cotton is stored, we give full information. In sending samples be sure to tag or mark the sacks or papers containing the samples with your name and post-office with a coupon showing number and mark of each bale inside the sample. We received many sacks of samples last season with no name or place on them to tell where they were from. On receipt of samples they are placed in the rack and left until the market conditions make it possible to secure the price fixed by the shipper or owner, when they are placed on the sample table, classed and offered for sale at the highest price experienced and capable cotton salesmen believe it will stand.

"Let us impress upon you that Unions and warehousemen should refuse to have anything to do with cotton when there is any question of its not being honestly and properly packed.

ADVANCES.

"The company does not make advances on cotton stored in country warehouses, as it cannot see to its proper handling and insurance, and understands local banks take care of it. When your local bank cannot make advances we shall be glad to help you get the money and leave your cotton in your local warehouse. *But we do make liberal advances on cotton shipped us at Memphis, Manchester, England, and Liverpool, England, charging interest at rate prevailing day loan is made.*"

Formerly, the farmer usually hauled his cotton to the nearest town and sold it to a local buyer, who, in turn, nearly always

shipped it to a commission merchant in a bigger market, who in turn sold to another buyer, who in his turn sold to the cotton merchant in some spinning center, who then sold it to the spinner.

It is only necessary to give here the methods used by the larger cotton buyer, who in all big markets has connections or selling agents, generally cotton merchants, in spinning centers. He sends types of various quotations of cotton to these connections, marked with his individual class for each quality; he quotes prices landed at the mill on such qualities as he desires to sell. In case of a sale he goes on the market and buys as near as possible the quality and quantity sold. It is often the case that in making up a proper shipment the buyer is compelled to buy cotton in round lots, some of which will not pass, and this he has to find a sale for in other places.

When a sale is made for delivery at some future time, the buyer does not always buy at once the spot cotton, as charges and interest often make this impracticable, so he protects himself by the purchase of futures against the rise and fall of the market.

The buyer pays all insurance, storage, interest, freight and brokerage, guaranteeing weights and quality. On all business in the United States he has a three-pound allowance for loss in weight; on practically all business to other countries he deducts six per cent from his invoice weight here, drawing for the weight only.

In figuring this price, he deducts for his own profit and the loss in weight, as well as all allowance, all of which the farmer has to stand.

CHARTER AND BY-LAWS OF UNION CONSOLIDATED WAREHOUSE
COMPANY OF GEORGIA.

CHARTER.

STATE OF GEORGIA, }
CAMPBELL COUNTY, {

To the Superior Court of said County:

The petition of W. W. Webb, Lowndes County; D. E. Jones, Tattnall County; W. C. Wood, Henry County; F. D. Wimberly, Pulaski County; M. L. Johnson, Bartow County; H. M. Spinks, Green County; C. A. Newcomer, Ben Hill County; J. L. Lee, DeKalb County, respectfully shows:

1. That they desire for themselves, their associates and successors, to be incorporated and made a body politic for the period of twenty years, with the privilege of renewal at the expiration of that period, under the name and style of UNION CONSOLIDATED WAREHOUSE COMPANY.

2. The capital stock of said corporation shall be one hundred thousand dollars (\$100,000) of the par value of five dollars (\$5.00) per share.

Petitioners desire the right to increase said capital stock from time to time by a majority vote of its stockholders, to an amount not to exceed the sum of five hundred thousand dollars.

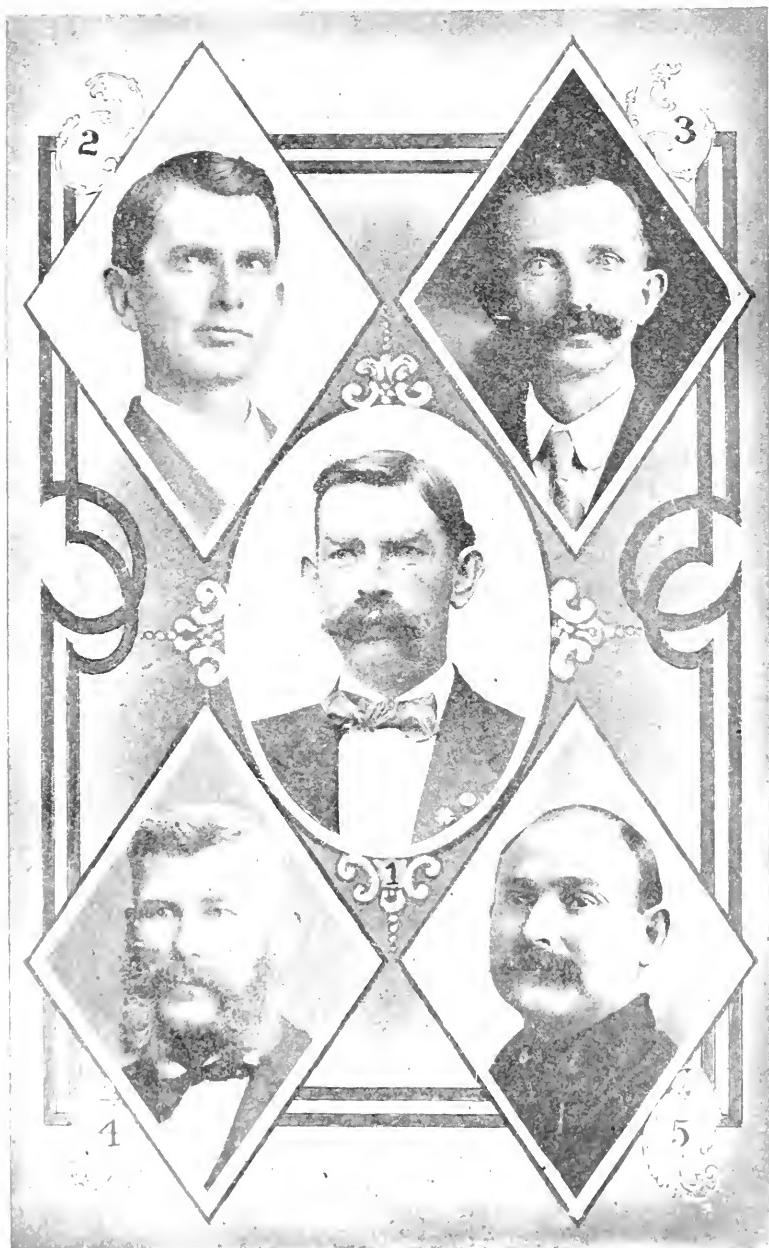
3. Petitioners pray that subscriptions to the capital stock may be paid in cash, or in real and personal property, or in the assets of similar or other cotton warehouse companies, at their reasonable value, and also the right to pay for such assets of similar or other cotton warehouse companies incorporated or unincorporated, by issuing to such other or similar warehouse companies, its common or other stock in exchange for their assets, including warehouse buildings, franchises, good will, etc., upon such fair terms of purchase or exchange as may be agreed upon by its Board of Directors of said Union Consolidated Warehouse Company and said similar or other warehouse companies, or their stockholders or owners; with the right, by said sale or exchange of its said stock, to completely buy, merge and own such other or similar warehouse companies, or to exchange or sell its stock for a part of the capital stock, or other holdings or assets of other or similar warehouse companies, incorporated or unincorporated.

Petitioners desire the right to commence business when ten per cent of its capital stock shall have been paid in, either in cash, or its equivalent in property as hereinbefore mentioned.

4. The principal office of said corporation shall be at Union City, Campbell County, Georgia, but petitioners pray that they be allowed to operate branch offices in other parts of the State of Georgia, and in other States and in foreign countries.

5. The object of said corporation is pecuniary gain for its stockholders.

6. The business to be carried on by said corporation is to buy, build, own, lease and operate warehouses throughout the State of Georgia; to engage in the business of storing and warehousing cotton and other farm products for hire; to issue negotiable or non-negotiable warehouse receipts or cotton certificates, as needed, upon cotton or other farm products stored in any of the warehouses owned or controlled by said corporation, and to provide for securing and guaranteeing, by pledging all or any part of its physical or other assets, or by obtaining other guarantees, at the discretion of its Board of Directors; to buy and sell cotton and other farm products for itself, or as agent or trustee for its stockholders, or other persons or corporations, upon commission; to aid its members or stockholders in borrowing money upon their cotton, or other farm products, when safely stored in the warehouses of either of them, of said corporation; upon its guaranteed warehouse receipts; also to borrow money upon its own initiative for the purpose of lending same to its stockholders upon their cotton, or other

**PROMINENT WORKERS, ARKANSAS AND MISSOURI DIVISIONS.**

1. ALLEN DAVIS, Arkansas, Assistant to National Secretary-Treasurer.
2. H. BELCHER LEWIS, Arkansas, Lecturer.
3. BEN L. GRILLIN, Arkansas, Ex State Secretary-Treasurer.
4. J. W. H. O'LELLY, Missouri, Prominent Organizer.
5. JOHN A. BLACKFORD, Arkansas, Ex Conductor National Union.

farm products, as pledge or collateral, and to mortgage or pledge its own assets to also further secure such loans, for the purpose, among other things, of enabling such stockholders to hold their cotton, etc., in their efforts to secure fair and better prices therefor.

7. No one shall be a stockholder in said corporation who is not a member of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America.

A warehouse company the ownership of whose stock is exclusively held by members of said Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, may buy and own shares of stock in said corporation in its own behalf, but shall not dispose of or sell the same to any one not a member of said Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, without first offering same to this corporation and allowing it ninety days within which to cancel said stock on its own books and pay par value therefor.

In case of the death of a stockholder, then his executor or administrator shall first offer for sale said stock to the Board of Directors of this corporation.

8. Petitioners desire for said corporation the power and authority to apply for and accept amendments to its charter by a vote of a majority of its stockholders.

They also ask for authority for said corporation to wind up its affairs, sell its assets, liquidate and discontinue its business as it may determine to do so, by a vote of two-thirds of its stockholders at any time.

9. Petitioners desire the right to sue and be sued, contract and to be contracted with, to have and use a common seal, and to make and enforce such reasonable by-laws and regulations as may be necessary to carry on the business of said corporation; to purchase, own, lease, sell and otherwise acquire and dispose of property of all kinds, real, personal and mixed, as may be necessary or useful to its business operations.

10. Wherefore, petitioners pray an order incorporating them, their associates, successors and assigns under the name and style aforesaid, with all the privileges and powers herein prayed for, together with such other powers and privileges as may be necessary, proper and incidental to the conduct of its business, and as may be allowed to like corporations under the laws of Georgia.

And petitioners will ever pray, etc.

C. T. LADSON, *Petitioners' Attorney.*

BY-LAWS.

I.—OFFICERS.

There shall be a President, Secretary-Treasurer and a Board of Directors consisting of five members.

II.—ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The President and Board of Directors shall be elected at the first meeting of the stockholders, and shall serve for one year, or until their successors shall have been duly appointed or elected.

The Board of Directors shall have the power to fill any vacancies in either of said offices, for the unexpired term thereof.

III.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

The duties of the President shall be to have a general supervision of the business of said corporation. He shall have his office at the main office of said corporation at Union City, Georgia. He shall not engage in any other business, but shall devote his entire time and attention to the duties of said office of President. He shall keep in thorough touch and knowledge with all the business affairs of said corporation, and shall visit or have visited the different warehouses belonging to and operated by said corporation at least as often as once per quarter, examining into their condition and methods of operation, and exacting of the warehousemen in charge of said warehouses strict and capable attention to their duties; by and with the advice of the Secretary-Treasurer, and the Chairman of the Board of Directors, except as may be hereinafter provided, he shall appoint the various warehousemen, hire such other employes of said corporation as may be necessary for the proper and business-like conduct of affairs.

He shall require each and every warehouseman to furnish good and sufficient fidelity bonds.

He shall, as far as may be practicable, arrange for uniform warehouse receipts to be used by all of the warehouses of said corporation; he shall secure the lowest possible rates of fire insurance upon cotton in such warehouses, and, together with the Secretary-Treasurer, and the Chairman of the Board of Directors, shall diligently examine into and provide all practicable and convenient methods and arrangements of warehousing, so as to minimize danger from fires, both in the alteration of old warehouses, and in the construction of new warehouses, to the end that cheaper insurance may be thereby obtained.

He shall preside over the meetings of the Board of Directors, in the absence of the Chairman of the Board, and may call special meetings of said Board at his discretion, or upon the written request of a majority of said Board of Directors, by giving five days' notice of such meeting, by mail, or three days' notice by wire. His salary shall be fixed by the Board of Directors. He shall furnish a fidelity bond to said corporation in such sum as may be determined by said Board of Directors.

IV.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER.

The Secretary-Treasurer shall be elected by the Board of Directors, and likewise devote his entire time and attention to the faithful discharge of the duties of his office. He shall make detailed semi-monthly reports to the President and Board of Directors, of the business affairs of his office. He shall attend all meetings of the stockholders and keep correct minutes of the proceedings of such meetings. All funds of said corporation shall be kept in a bank, or banks, to be selected by the Board of Directors, the same to be deposited in the name of said corporation by him, and no funds shall be checked out of said bank or banks unless signed by the President and Secretary-Treasurer, jointly.

All checks made payable to said corporation shall, before being deposited in bank, be endorsed by both President and Secretary-Treasurer. His salary shall be fixed by the Board of Directors. The Secretary-Treasurer's books, vouchers, accounts, etc., shall at all times be subject to the inspection of the President and Board of Directors, and shall be examined and audited by an expert auditor to be selected by the Board of Directors, at least every three months, or oftener in the discretion of the Board, and the report of such auditor shall be made direct to the Board of Directors.

V.—BOARD OF DIRECTORS—ITS DUTIES.

The Board of Directors shall elect a chairman, who shall preside over the meeting of said Board.

The Board shall meet at Union City, Georgia, at least once in every six months, and oftener in their discretion.

The Board may call a special meeting of the stockholders at any time by giving thirty days' notice by publishing such call once per week for four weeks in the *Farmers' Union News*. The members of said Board shall receive three dollars per day and two dollars per day for expenses and all railroad fares for each day devoted to the duties of said Board.

VI.—STOCKHOLDERS' MEETINGS.

The stockholders shall meet at such time and place as the Board of Directors may select in each year, and all executive officers, and the Board of Directors, shall make written reports of the affairs of their various offices, at such annual meeting. The stockholders shall elect the President and Board of Directors of said corporation at such annual meeting.

VII.—BUSINESS OF SAID CORPORATION.

Until further and especially directed by the stockholders, at any annual or called meeting, the business of said corporation shall be confined to carrying on the business of owning or controlling

and operating cotton warehouses; making proper, and as near as may be practicable, uniform charges for storage, weighing, grading, handling, etc., cotton, and selling same upon commission.

And, as hereinafter provided, in the interest of its stockholders, members of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, aid such members to obtain loans at the lowest obtainable rates of interest upon their cotton.

VIII.—LOAN DEPARTMENT.

The President, Secretary-Treasurer, and Chairman of the Board of Directors, shall constitute a loan committee of said corporation, and no loan shall be made to any person unless it meets with the concurrence and written approval of each member of said loan committee.

Said loan committee shall not lend money to any person whomsoever except upon cotton which the owner thereof (and borrower) may desire to hold in the endeavor to obtain better prices therefor, and they shall not lend more than 70 per cent. on the then current market value thereof, and only after said cotton shall be found by said loan committee to be free from any other or superior liens, and after same shall have been stored in one or more of the warehouses of said corporation, and properly insured.

The commission, or charges, for procuring, etc., such loans to be fixed by the Board of Directors, and agreed to by the borrower. Whenever said loan committee in order to get low and satisfactory rates of interest, and loans, for the members of said corporation, or stockholders thereof, and to that end to furnish better and more ample security, such committee may, upon the approval of the Board of Directors, and as further security to the pledge of the cotton, itself, to be borrowed upon, execute the guaranteee of said corporation in the form of *guaranteed* warehouse receipts, or cotton certificates, thus pledging any or all of the assets of said corporation to make good its guarantee in such behalf; nor shall said loan committee, or any other officer or agent of said corporation, sell, pledge or mortgage any property or other assets of said corporation, without the approval of the Board of Directors, except as herein provided.

IX.

When said corporation shall acquire by purchase, or exchange of its stock, the warehouses and other assets of existing or future warehouse companies, thus merging and consolidating such other warehouse companies into the Union Consolidated Warehouse Company, then the old stockholders who shall thus become stockholders in this corporation, shall have the privilege of appointing three of such old stockholders, who shall act as a local governing committee; and such committee shall have the power of recom-

mending a suitable person, a stockholder, as warehouseman for such newly acquired warehouse, and the Board of Directors of this corporation shall, in the absence of specific disqualifying causes, appoint such warehouseman so nominated by said local governing committee, to manage such warehouse; and, in all other substantial matters concerning the local affairs of such warehouses, the Board of Directors shall pay especial heed to the advices and recommendations of such local governing committee, who shall continue stockholders in this corporation, to the end that as far as may be practicable the former stockholders of the locality where such merged warehouse, or warehouses, may be situated, may have a controlling voice, by way of recommendation, etc., in the local affairs and management of such local warehouses.

Nevertheless this corporation shall at all times have and retain the supervision and control of all warehouses that it may thus acquire by merger, purchase or otherwise, and all warehousemen of such former individual warehouse companies shall at all times be subject to the direction and control of this corporation, and subject to dismissal, and new ones appointed in his, or their stead, at the sound discretion of the officers and directors thereof.

X.—DISTRIBUTION OF LOANS.

Such loan committee, as far as may be practicable, shall fairly and equitably distribute such loans as it may obtain, as provided in By-law eight, among the stockholders applying for same, in just proportion to the number of stockholders formerly holding or owning stock in such merged warehouse, showing no preference among said former warehouse company stockholders of locality, and the Board of Directors shall be especially charged with the duty of supervising such distribution.

XI.—SELLING AGENCY.

The President, Secretary-Treasurer and Chairman of said Board of Directors, shall likewise constitute a Selling Agency, or committee for the purpose of selling the cotton of the stockholders who may desire said corporation to do so, direct to the spinners, or other acceptable buyers, either in the United States, or abroad, and thereby eliminate the middleman as far as practicable, in the effort to bring fairer prices, and at less expense to the owners of cotton.

Such Selling Agency shall prepare and submit to the Board of Directors, for their approval, a systematic plan of operations amply protecting the owners of cotton, and clearly defining the powers, duties and commissions of this corporation as selling agent, or trustee, etc., etc.

Such Selling Agency shall require daily reports from the different warehousemen during the cotton selling season, of all cotton

deposited with said warehouse for sale, showing marks, weights, grades, names of owners, etc., of such cotton, and shall keep a separate set of books, records and accounts of the business of such Selling Agency.

Such Selling Agency shall account to and make just settlement with all owners of such cotton immediately upon the consummation of sales.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

The ultimate success of the F. E. and C. U. of A., like other organizations, depends upon the unity of action of its members. Separately, they are powerless, united they are invincible. No power can overthrow them if they co-operate together. This co-operation should be carried on in the marketing of crops, for if a product is rushed on the market in excess of demand, the price of that product goes down. Coal mine owners and other like corporations furnish samples of co-operation in maintaining prices, as do the lumber dealers. For one cause and another the output of mines and mills are curtailed so as not to overcrowd the market. In the case of coal mines only enough is raised to meet the demands, as is the case with lumber.

Steel mills and like concerns also furnish examples, and if the farmer would manage his farm and the products of the same, he, too, could maintain equitable prices for his cotton, grain and other farm products. If the prices of lumber start down, the saw mills are closed until such a time as the demand for lumber makes it profitable for these mills to run. One reason for the depressed condition of the cotton market is the rushing of a great volume of cotton on the market at one time.

Let the farmer learn a lesson from others.

CHAPTER XIII.

BUSINESS AGENT'S DEPARTMENT—REASONS FOR ESTABLISHING DEPARTMENT—EUBANK'S EXPERIENCE GIVEN—CARLOAD LOTS OF FLOUR SECURED CHEAPER PRICES AND LOWER FREIGHT RATES. ONE WAY TO KILL A TOWN—THE REJOINDER—FIGHTING THE TRUSTS—CO-OPERATIVE CONCERN OF THE UNION.

THE BUSINESS AGENT'S DEPARTMENT.

WHEN the Union had gotten on its feet, so to speak, there was a demand for the establishment of business departments which should more effectually carry out that section in the declaration of principles which applies to aid rendered the membership in buying and selling.

Several ineffectual efforts had been made early in the movement to deal direct with jobbers and wholesalers. These offorts were made by local Unions, and a few by county organizations, but the jobbers and wholesalers frankly told the representatives of local and county Unions to go to their retail merchants.

The treatment accorded the membership by jobbers and wholesalers made the business department for each State a necessity; accordingly most of the States, through their Executive Committees, established business departments and placed them in charge of busines managers. In several of the States the business managers and other members of the official family have had disagreements, and in many instances disruptions. Georgia is the only State that has maintained its business office intact and in the operation of which very much benefit has come to the people.

J. G. Eubanks, a sketch of whom appears elsewhere, has been in charge of the Georgia department since its organization, and under his management it has been a success.

Knowing the difficulties with which Mr. Eubanks was confronted in systematically organizing the business department, and his experience in devising plans of a business nature, I accordingly wrote him, asking him to give me his experience in outlining plans and the obstacles with which he met. His reply is as follows:

"UNION CITY, GA.

"*Mr. C. S. Barrett, Union City, Ga.:*

"DEAR SIR AND BROTHER—Replying to your inquiry regarding the laying the foundation for the business plans of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America in Georgia, I beg to say that you remember I was elected to fill my present position, State Business Agent, January 31, 1906.

"There was a great deal of printers' ink spent in those days picturing how the farmers might sell cotton direct to the spinners, eliminating the profits of the speculators. My contention was then, as now, that this was a fight of years with the great cotton kings who have been dividing Southern territory, co-operating together, keeping down competition—that they were not going to permit this great monopoly to slip from their hands without a great struggle, and that while this fight was going on we should inaugurate a system of buying which would teach our people lessons in co-operation as well as save them money.

"I knew from past experience that in this we would also meet bitter opposition, but if our plans were well laid that we would succeed. It was my desire to offer Georgia wholesalers and manufacturers our business, knowing they would reject it. It was not their purpose to break down their system of doing business, which gives jobbers, wholesalers and retailers profits between manufacturers and consumers. We considered the burden too much for our people to pay. I called on manufacturers and wholesalers of Atlanta, Rome, Macon, Columbus, and Savannah, with no results, but was not in the least discouraged.

"I called on one large wholesale grocery company. The head of the firm, like others, referred me to my retail groceryman, and said I ought to return home to plowing. I told him that I had been sent out by fifty thousand organized farmers, and that I would not then return to the plow, and that he knew that I would not do it. On the other hand, he knew that I would accomplish what I had set out for, if I had to cross the Ohio River for it. 'Mr. C.—, I have offered you my business; I have fulfilled my duty; you are driving me to where I am going—to the miller, manufacturer and importer—for business. While it is my desire to patronize home enterprises, at your bidding I must go beyond the limits of the State for business for my people. The interstate freight rates are in my favor. Having these advantages, with the co-operation of fifty thousand farmers, I will hurl a volume of business with such force against the wall that protects your iniquitous system that it will crumble. I will make it your desire to see me in the future.'

"I immediately began the organizing of the membership into a business system, requesting local and county Unions to elect a Business Agent, the names of which made my list. I made a trip to the Middle West, closed contracts with flouring mills and manufacturers; also closed deals at the ports with importers of coffee.

"My many years of experience in the lumber business and mercantile business, in connection with these, had familiarized me with the methods of shipping and transportation generally. It was not many weeks until I was loading package cars with provisions and shipping into Georgia, breaking bulks at common points in the State, giving our people the advantage of interstate and full car-lot rates on local lots of goods, which were delivered at the different shipping points after breaking bulk, and what is known as the blanket system.

"Shipping in full cars also gave us milling-in-transit rates on flour. This rate, coupled with interstate rates and the blanket system of delivery, gave our members car-lot rates on single-barrel lots of flour—a rate not enjoyed by local merchants buying in less than car-lots.

"I estimate by having this system of delivery to have saved our people two hundred and seventy-six dollars freight on one shipment of flour, being that much less than regular published rate on local shipments.

"These things are not appreciated, for the fact is, people are ignorant of it, even after explained.

"It has ever been my policy to look after our own business, never antagonizing the business of others. I remember having gone over one hundred miles on two different occasions to prevent our members in county conventions from boycotting wholesale merchants who they felt had mistreated them. I have ever contended we should attend to our own business and let the business of others alone.

"In reference to the business departments of other States, I can speak from observation. Most of them have made a failure, which came about through several causes. Some very active men have been placed at the head of some of the State business departments, with ambition much ahead of their ability to accomplish, lacking either in financial backing or business training. Some of them, being more optimistic than practical, spent time and money on impractical theories, in place of taking hold of things they could have done for the people. Some of the failures have been caused by nonco-operation of the membership.

"No difference how well qualified a man may be for this work, he can do nothing without the continuous support of his people.

"I have in mind an executive committee in one of the States who elected a man to take charge of their business department who was well qualified for the position, and a more conscientious, hard worker has never entered service for a people. For a long time he received the loyal support of his constituency, saving to them in his State millions of dollars. Even his worst critics will admit this; but, alas! from some cause, presumably from outside influences, the membership withdrew their support, and down went the business department, and our comrade with it.

"We dislike to look at the dark side of a picture. We prefer to believe that after the hosts have captured the field that by right belongs to them, that they would not assassinate their captains, give up all to the subdued, unconditionally ground their arms and return to their former state of servitude.

"Fraternally,

"J. G. EUBANKS, *State Business Agent.*"

Some have gone so far as to claim that co-operative business movements damage or kill towns. This criticism has been ably met by D. Cohalin, of Iowa, who has long been a leader and defender of co-operation. The reply to the criticism was in answer to a newspaper charge that co-operate business concerns had killed the town of Rockwell. The newspaper charge and Mr. Cohalan's reply are given that the people may have both sides of the question:

ONE WAY TO KILL A TOWN.

"Some years ago the town of Rockwell, Cerro Gordo County, was one of the most prosperous little towns of the State. The Farmers' Co-operative Society was organized, and commenced to handle grain and coal. Later they took farm machinery, and continued to absorb different businesses of the town, until they handled everything in the town. Other merchants fought to maintain themselves, but the struggle was a hopeless one. Business of all kinds became depressed, and the town commenced to run down. Now the buildings are unpainted, and real estate has depreciated until it is hardly worth 25 cents on the dollar. Business men are doing all they can to get out of town. Farms in that vicinity that a few years ago were worth \$90 to \$100 per acre have depreciated in value, until \$60 and \$70 is a good price. Real estate men have giving up trying to induce settlers to come to that place, for the reason no one cares to buy a farm near a dead town, no matter how much the land is worth. The condition of Rockwell is exactly what will happen if the farmers around a good town will set

about destroying it by unfair and by unjust competition. The farmers' movement was all right if it had stopped at the right place, but when it went the whole length and destroyed the town, then it hurt them more than the small profit the merchants were making upon the goods they sold them. They have saved a little on their goods, and destroyed the value of their farms as a consequence."—*Manson Journal*.

THE REJOINDER.

"This is a foolish, lying statement, calculated for effect, but too silly and vicious to command any respect. However, as a citizen of Rockwell, and a member of the Farmers' Co-operative Society of that town, I will lay the facts in the case before you, and challenge a contradiction of my statement. Rockwell is a modest little town located on the Iowa Central Railway, twelve miles south of Mason City, in Cerro Gordo County. The railroad was located and the town started thirty-six years ago. A monopolistic combination of grain buyers came, built elevators, and began business in grain, coal, lumber, general supply store, etc. They fixed prices so as to insure them enormous profits, fixed their scales so as to insure them safe weights, and fixed their terms of credit so that any account standing on their books thirty days bore interest at ten per cent per annum. These were the conditions, and the farmers had to accept their prices, weights and terms. This monopolistic combination controlled the markets and trade of Rockwell for twenty years, yet the population of Rockwell at the end of the twenty-year term of the combine was only 381; the total value of all the real estate and personal property of the town at the end of the twenty years was only \$44,000. There was not a brick or stone building in the town; the only schoolhouse in the town at that time was an old shack that is now used for a blacksmith shop. There was not three blocks of good sidewalk in the town; no fire protection; no light of any kind. Only two very cheap church buildings, two clergymen and one doctor. There was no bank—in fact, there was no enterprise of any kind except the profit-taking combine.

"In those days in Rockwell the farmers' lot was a hard proposition, as there was general complaint on every side by the farmers of the price and weight of their grain. A man that got more than 1,700 pounds in a ton of coal was lucky, and if he got within 10c a bushel of the Chicago price for his oats he was fortunate. A dollar a ton on coal and a dollar a hundred on hogs was the customary net profit for the combine. Five dollars a thousand on lumber was the usual profit. Our farmers took this kind of medi-

cine for twenty years. Finally, in March, 1889, the farmers got together and organized a Farmers' Co-operative Society. This was notice to the combine that a day of reckoning had come, for in the future the farmers proposed to do business for themselves. (Bear in mind, at this time the population of the town was 381, and the assessor's value of all real and personal property in the town was \$44,000.) The Farmers' Society went to work in real earnest, procured \$1,000 in stock subscriptions and borrowed \$1,000 from the First National Bank of Mason City, for one year without interest.

FIGHTING THE TRUST.

"Business was commenced at once, and a struggle for existence ensued. The combine at once raised the price of grain and lowered the price on coal, but the farmers, being loyal, stood by their society, and when any of our members sold to the combine, they came to our manager and paid him a commission on every bushel sold to an outside dealer as the by-laws of our society required. In this way the combine got the grain when they paid more than its true value for it, and our society got a commission on every bushel sold. This battle continued for five years, and after many trials and difficulties our society gradually gained in assets and retained the confidence of its members and the respect and sympathy of the community. So much so, that at the end of five years the combine withdrew from the business field in Rockwell and left the farmers master of the situation. At the end of six years we had 500 members, \$20,000 employed in our enterprise, and the town and surrounding country had made wonderful progress. Conservative, level-headed men came, engaged in business, and were successful, and general prosperity has reigned in Rockwell under the leadership of the Farmers' Incorporated Co-operative Society.

"The society is now rounding out its seventeenth year and is in a most flourishing condition. The town of Rockwell today is a Chicago, compared with Rockwell of monopoly rule, which had full power in Rockwell for twenty years. There are two buildings in Rockwell now that cost more than all the buildings in the entire town at the time of the organization of the society. Let me enumerate some of the good things we now have in Rockwell:

CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS.

"We have five churches, two schools, the combined value of all church and school property being \$75,000.

"The population has more than doubled since the days of the combine, and the assessor's value of the town for the year 1905 is \$474,548.

"How does this compare with the newspaper clipping referred to? The Farmers' Co-operative Society handles all kinds of grain and seed, flour, feed, oilmeal, wire nails, oils, paints, wagon grease, salt, farm machinery, binding twine, wagons, buggies, boots and shoes, rock, brick, sand, cement, lime, lumber, coal, cattle and hogs.

"Go in the country north, south, east or west and you find a beautiful farming country, dotted with groves, and every farm improved with splendid dwelling houses, mammoth barns, granaries, corn cribs, etc., the material in nearly every case being bought of the Farmers' Co-operative Society. Talk with the farmers, and you will find that 95 per cent of them are members of the society. Ask them which of the numerous towns is the best town to trade in? Which of the markets pay the best price for grain? Where they get the best lumber, coal, binding twine, etc., for the least money? And the answer will be Rockwell. Ask them about the value of their farms, and you will find the present value is the highest in the history of the county. You will also find land values \$5 per acre higher in Farmers' Co-operative territory than where the land is out of reach of such territories. If you consult the renters, you will find they would give 50 cents per acre annually more for land located near a Farmers' Society than ten miles away from one. Go to the banks, inquire about the financial standing of those connected with the co-operative society: you will be surprised to find many of them worth from \$20,000 to \$50,000, and a score or more of them worth from \$60,000 to \$100,000. The Farmers' Co-operative Society of Rockwell has been one of the means of this wonderful accumulation. In all of the seventeen years in which the society has done business there has been no complaint about dishonest weights by anyone dealing with the society. Entire confidence and perfect harmony is the outspoken sentiment of all members."—Extracts from address by D. Cohalan.

THE UNION PHOSPHATE COMPANY.

Numerous co-operative business concerns have been promulgated by the Union, one of the most important of which is the Union Phosphate Company of Georgia. The *Union News* had this to say of the company in an editorial at the time the company was chartered:

"When we began to organize, we learned that we could better ourselves by buying and selling in bulk on most articles produced and consumed by a farmer. We had not been organized long when we learned that we must have cotton warehouses, through which to handle our cotton. This removed one obstacle. From this we also started the plan of co-operation, but we soon learned that this was not enough, and that some kind of a plan must be had by which the strength of these warehouses must be concentrated, that we might remove the other obstacles by going direct to the spinner with our cotton. We are now completing these plans, and by and by the farmer will be selling through his own agents his cotton direct to the buying agents of the manufacturer.

"We also started out to buy implements of all kinds used on the farm. We went to the manufacturers, and they laughed at us. They said, 'Go back and buy them from your local dealer.' We asked them, 'What's the use; they would not sell us.' We were willing to allow one-half the profit that the local dealer now gets, but with a sneer they turned us away. We discussed the matter, and decided that we would have to manufacture our own implements. We now have a factory in operation, and a few more thousand dollars subscribed by the members of the organization, and the implement trust must treat with us.

"We went to the fertilizer companies and we asked them to sell to our agents direct from the factories, and save to the farmer at least one-half the local dealer's profit. They said, 'No, you farmers have no business buying your fertilizer from us. We do not want to sell to you. We want to sell to the merchant.' We asked them, was it the merchant that used the fertilizer, or was it the farmer, but this did not appeal to them, and they turned us away from their doors with us begging for only one-half the profit we were paying the local dealers. We came home despondent, but determined not to give up. We went to work. We employed men to investigate, and we have organized a fertilizer company, and last year, in Georgia alone, at an outlay of \$10,000 to the membership, Georgia farmers were saved \$180,000. The fertilizer people who were posted, admit this themselves.

"Have we acted unjustly? Haven't we done our part? We did not want to build an implement factory, we did not want to build a guano factory. We preferred to allow other people build them if they would treat us right. We did not turn them away from us, but we went to them, not only as one gentleman should go to another, but we went to them begging for consideration. They refused it. They said: 'No, you farmers go on back and go

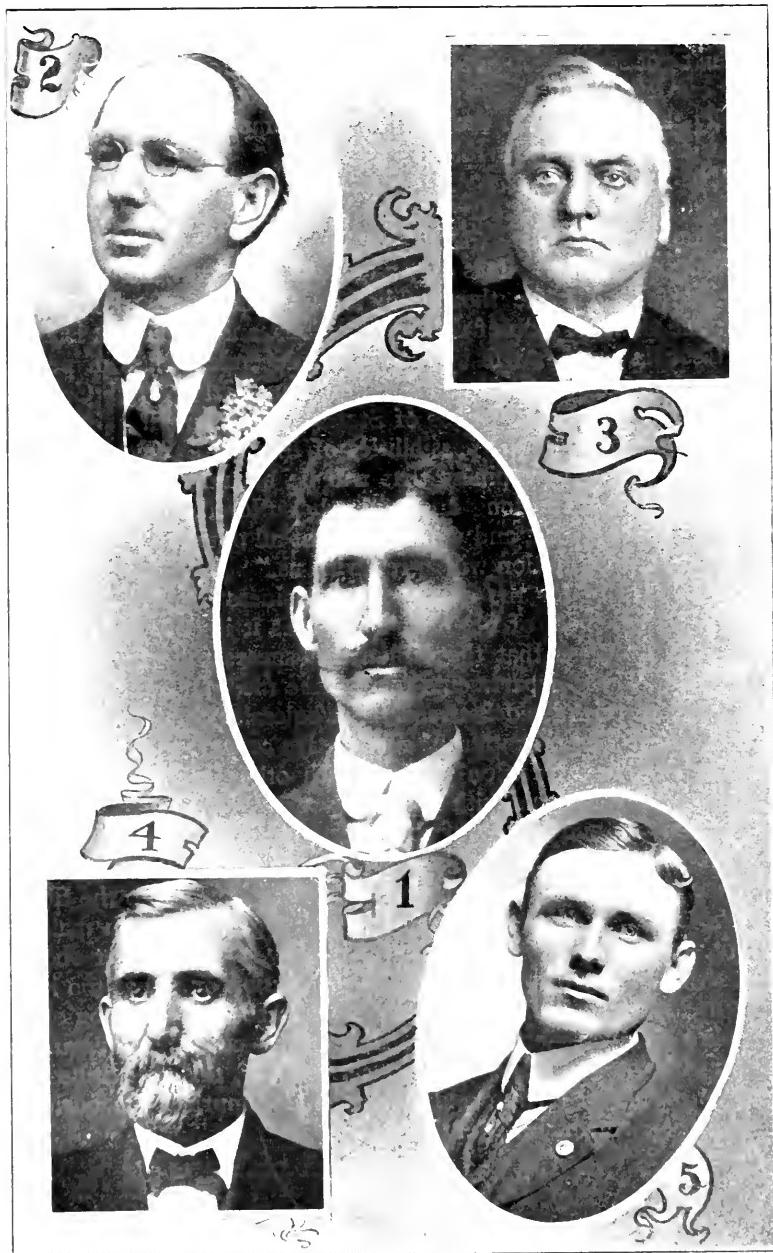
to plowing; quit trying to attend to your own business; you haven't got sense enough to do it.' Do you believe that we should bow our heads under such conditions as we have in the past? We hardly think that even the fertilizer and implement people themselves say that we did wrong.

"The members in every county and community in Georgia are taking stock in one or other of these concerns. As they begin to take notice and realize the importance of the consideration they will take stock now. It is only a question of time when every one of them will become thoroughly aroused and subscribe for at least one share in each of these institutions, and when that is done the Georgia farmers will be the most independent class of people within her borders, and then, and not until then, will Georgia stand at the head of the class of States as she should.

"As we look into the possibilities of this great State and perceive the joy and happiness that will be brought to agricultural classes who have so long and patiently suffered, we cannot help but become enthused, and we believe that all others who will carefully study the question will agree with us."

The necessity for the existence of business departments seem to be clear to most of the membership, as it is only through the operation of these that the Union can successfully carry on its business. These departments furnish the medium by which business can be transacted between the wholesalers and jobbers and the people. The operation of coöperative concerns puts the business agents in a position to deal with other interests as other wholesale buyers deals with them.

The buying and selling of things the farmer produces is a vital matter with him. For these two operations constitute the main feature of a farm, and is the chief source of revenue to the tillers of the soil. If they buy right and sell right, they can make a profit, and that will insure their prosperity. The farmer should not strive to buy below the price of production or sell at too high a figure. He should be willing to pay a reasonable profit on other people's products—only a reasonable profit—and then demand a reasonable profit on his. When carried out, this constitutes all that is meant by buying and selling, and comprises the business agency department in its entirety.



STATE OFFICIALS, GEORGIA DIVISION.

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|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. JOHN L. LITT, State President | 3. W. M. COKER, State Lecturer. |
| 2. J. T. McDANIEL, Sec'y Treasurer | 4. WILLIAM BRADFORD, Vice-President. |
| 5. T. L. HAWKINS, State Organizer. | |

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NATIONAL UNION—FIRST MEETING IN TEXARKANA—FIRST OFFICIALS—SECOND MEETING AT TEXARKANA—MEETING AT LITTLE ROCK—DELEGATES, REPORTS, ETC.—MINIMUM PRICE OF COTTON—FORT WORTH CONVENTION—LADY DELEGATES.

THE NATIONAL UNION,

WHEN several State organizations had been perfected, delegates from Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana met in Texarkana, December 5, 1905, and proceeded to organize a national union in accordance with the provision of the constitution of the State of Texas.

This convention remained in session three days and adopted a constitution and by-laws. Most of the permanent clauses of both are practically the same today as were adopted then. The work of laying out and planning for the extension of the Union into every agricultural State in the United States was a part of the work of this convention.

O. P. Pyle, of Mineola, Texas, was elected President; W. A. Morris, of Sulligent, Alabama, Vice-President; R. H. McCulloch, of Beebe, Arkansas, Secretary-Treasurer; L. N. Holmes, of Bernice, Louisiana, Chaplain; Z. R. Bell, of Carrollton, Georgia, Sergeant-at-Arms; John Blackford, of Jonesboro, Arkansas, Conductor, and H. N. Ray, of Neosho, Missouri, Doorkeeper.

The First National Board of Directors was composed of C. S. Barrett, of Georgia, Chairman; W. S. Miller, of Texas; Campbell Russell, of Oklahoma; I. N. McCollister, of Louisiana; E. J. Cook, of Alabama, and J. H. Reynolds, of Arkansas.

O. P. Pyle served a part of his term as National President, and resigned; the National Board of Directors elected R. F. Duckworth, of Georgia, in his place.

The Board of Directors was made up of six instead of five, as it now is. The convention which met in Texarkana the next year,

1906, reduced the number to five, which number is now annually elected by the convention. The offices of chaplain, doorkeeper, conductor and sergeant-at-arms are appointive, whereas the first convention elected them.

THE SECOND TEXARKANA CONVENTION.

Delegates met in Texarkana in September, 1906, for the purpose of fixing a price on cotton and the transaction of such other business of importance as might come before them.

R. F. Duckworth, of Georgia, who was serving out the unexpired term of O. P. Pyle, of Texas, who resigned, declined reëlection, and C. S. Barrett, of Georgia, was elected national President; J. E. Montgomery, of Tennessee, was elected Vice-President; R. H. McCulloch, of Beebe, Arkansas, was reëlected Secretary-Treasurer. A board of five directors was elected, and the business of the convention placed in their hands when the convention was not in session. W. S. Miller, of Texas; James Butler, of Kansas; Campbell Russell, of Oklahoma; W. A. Morris, of Alabama, and I. N. McCollister, of Louisiana, were named in this capacity.

The price of cotton was fixed at eleven cents.

CONVENTION AT LITTLE ROCK.

The next convention of the national union met in the city of Little Rock, Arkansas, on the first Tuesday in September, 1907, being the time fixed by the constitution for holding the national convention. Ben. L. Griffin, of Conway, Arkansas, delivered the address of welcome, and Homer L. Higgs, of Tennessee, responded.

R. H. McCulloch, National Secretary, called the roll, and the following delegates responded: Arkansas—J. B. Lewis, Ben L. Griffin, A. R. Jenkins, A. J. Craig, E. Hall, I. K. Dempsey, C. A. Swift, J. T. Wilson, W. F. Tate, S. M. Blalock, W. T. Horn, and H. B. Lewis. Alabama—J. F. Hill, J. O. Collins, J. H. Wilson, Tom Eiland, Fred Streit, W. F. Duncan, and C. O. Beasley. California—J. M. Kneeland. Florida—W. M. Carlisle. Georgia—J. L. Lee, J. M. Hart, R. F. Duckworth, and J. L. Barron. Indiana—Thomas J. Singleton. Illinois—I. L. Lyon. Kansas—Paris Henderson. Kentucky—R. L. Barnett. Louisiana—L. N. Holmes, W. S. Jones, J. P. Kleinpeter, and Q. A. Hester. Missouri—J. G. Weir. Mississippi—W. S. Sheffield, B. B. McCulloch, S. L. Wilson, W. J. Taylor, J. F. Smith, M. A. Brown, W. J.

Boyd, T. J. Johnson, J. M. Gregory, and H. W. Bradshaw. North Carolina—S. L. Carter. South Carolina—J. C. Stribbling. Oklahoma—W. E. Baker, A. Frank Ross, W. B. Brown, and A. A. Ellmore. Tennessee—A. A. Webb, T. J. Upton, and W. L. Perkins. Texas—D. J. Neill, J. S. Airhart, J. W. Phillips, O. P. Pyle, W. P. McNat, S. J. Hampton, S. F. McCormick, T. S. Miller, J. R. Luce, H. E. Webb, W. M. Lipscomb, B. F. Chapman, and M. C. Fields. Washington—N. B. Atkinson.

New Mexico and Oregon were entitled to one vote each, but did not send delegates, hence were not represented.

Miss Lutie Gresham, daughter of Hon. Newt. Gresham, the founder of the Farmers' Union, was adopted as the daughter of the National Union. The convention also passed a resolution to copyright the button with Newt. Gresham's picture on it and place the sale of it in the hands of Mrs. Gresham. The royalty from the sale of this button or official badge was to go to the family of Newt. Gresham. O. P. Pyle, of Texas, spoke at some length along this line.

The report of the National Board of Directors will give some idea of the progress of the Union during the past year, and is inserted here for that purpose:

"To the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America, in National Convention Assembled:

"BRETHREN—Twelve months ago at Texarkana we were elected to assume the responsibilities and duties of Directors of the National Union of the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America. Many of you are familiar with the conditions that existed at that time. The union had a debt of some \$3,000.00 for the previous year's expenses and no source of income from which to pay same or to meet current expenses until after the ratification of the constitution ninety days later. Much confusion and misunderstanding prevailed, so much so that the growth and usefulness of the organization was materially retarded for a time.

"This, we are glad to state, was caused (principally) by nothing more serious than intense earnestness and zealous watchfulness on the part of some brethren, of the rights of local members, coupled with misunderstandings and mistaken ideas as to the motives and purposes which actuated others. This for a time threatened to be more serious, perhaps, than many of you have realized.

"Much of the time of this board and a large per cent of the expenses incurred by it have been necessarily spent in correcting these misunderstandings and in healing the wounds and closing up the breeches which, while attributable to grievances that were far more imaginary than real, were none the less dangerous to the

permanency and power of our organization unless effectually removed.

"Two principle lines of work have engaged our attention. First, was to strengthen the work in States already organized, by securing harmonious action and loyal support on the part of the membership of such States, of the principles and policies of the Union as a whole. Proud, indeed, are we to be able to state to you that with the aid and assistance of thousands of energetic, earnest, faithful, self-sacrificing Union workers, scattered throughout the different States, this has been successfully accomplished in every instance. Proud, indeed, are we to say to you that today there is not a cloud visible anywhere upon the Union sky—no, not even as large as a man's hand.

"It is hard to refrain from mentioning, personally, some of those brethren whose assistance appeared most valuable; but they only did each one what he could—thousands did that; and we feel sure that those whose influence was most effective in bringing about a thorough understanding and the perfect harmony which is the result of a correct understanding, feel fully rewarded for all their efforts without any eulogy from us.

"In Indian and Oklahoma Territories you will remember that two State charters had been issued. This occasioned a bitter fight, which was carried into the United States Court, with the result that both charters were recognized as legal and declared to have concurrent jurisdiction in Indian Territory. Those of you who were at our last National meeting will remember that nearly a day of our valuable time was consumed there in hearing this case, resulting in a compromise verdict which did not give satisfaction to either side. We are glad to report to you that those two State Unions have voted without a dissenting voice to voluntarily surrender their charters, and that they have organized instead the State Union of Oklahoma.

"This, we can truthfully say, has been done without having any feeling of dissatisfaction or any bitterness or strife anywhere visible in the new State. We are glad to be able to report a tendency, which seems almost universal, to restrain self and selfish interests and to work for the common good and the uplifting of humanity through the instrumentality of the Farmers' Union; and, while we would not dare say that the membership today are actuated by any loftier aims or purer motives than prompted the original founders of this Union, we can truthfully say, that broader views are held and more systematic efforts are put forth than have at times been noticeable within our ranks.

"Among our second line of work—pushing the organization into new territory—we have probably not accomplished what some enthusiastic brethren have expected, or what we ourselves would be glad to be able to report. We can but feel, however, when we look back of the year's work, that fair progress has been made.

First three months no funds, constitution being ratified; second three months not enough funds to pay last year's debts and meet current expenses; third three months, just getting to where our Secretary-Treasurer could draw a full breath and look forward to the present meeting only three months away.

"When this condition is considered, we feel that the organization of four new State Unions and the starting of the work in many other States is a creditable report.

"For the details of this work, we refer you to the report of the Secretary-Treasurer, as also for the financial condition of the Union. We commend our faithful Secretary-Treasurer for his efficient, painstaking work. The business of his office has been managed on a strictly economical basis, but not at the expense of correctness and efficiency. His work has been entirely satisfactory at all times.

"Our President has, at our solicitation and with our hearty approval, spent a large portion of his time in active field work, which has been productive of much good both in the organized States and in the new territory.

"As for ourselves, we failed to perform a number of duties which were referred to us by the last national meeting. We can only plead scarcity of funds for this failure to comply with instructions.

"True, the Secretary-Treasurer's report, which you have had the pleasure of hearing, shows some funds in the treasury today, but a careful examination of this report will show that approximately one-half of the total receipts for the year has been within the last ninety days—too late for us to successfully perform the duties above referred to.

"We have no bouquets to throw at ourselves, nor do we ask any from anyone else. Our administration of the affairs of the Union has not been free from mistakes. We have simply done the best that we could, acting upon such information as we were able to secure upon any particular occasion.

"We meet you at the close of our term of office with clean hands and clear consciences. We feel justified in saying to you that the Farmers' Union is in better condition today than at any time since its organization. Its membership is stronger and better educated. They understand each other better, are more determined and more loyal, and ready if need be to make greater sacrifices than ever before. To be able to truthfully make this statement is reward enough for us for the part we have been permitted to take in bringing about such a condition.

"We are, yours for humanity, especially the American farmer.
"W. A. MORRIS, *Chairman.*"

The committee on minimum price of cotton submitted the following report:

"To the President and Members of the National Union:

"We, the undersigned committee on minimum price for short staple cotton, beg leave to submit this, our report:

"After a thorough investigation of the condition in each cotton State, we recommend the following as a minimum and scale of prices for September and each month thereafter, at interior points:

"The minimum price to be 15 cents per pound, basis middling, and one-fourth cent additional per pound each month to cover storage interest, etc.

"Respectfully submitted,

"D. J. NEILL, *Chairman.*

"A. A. WEBB, *Secretary.*"

Secretary McCulloch's report was a fine one, and showed the growth of the Union during the year past:

"Since my last annual report I have issued charters as follows: To the State Unions of Missouri, Illinois, Kansas and Florida.

"On the 20th day of August the brethren of the Indiana and Indian Territory State Unions met in the city of Shawnee, Oklahoma, and surrendered their respective charters and proceeded to and did organize the said territories into one State Union to be known as the Oklahoma State Union. The charter has been issued and is now in the hands of Brother J. A. West, President of the Oklahoma State Union.

"I have chartered local Unions as follows: Colorado, 7; Florida, 203; Illinois, 149; Indiana, 34; Kentucky, 77; Nebraska, 3; New Mexico, 20; North Carolina, 42; Oregon, 4; Virginia, 6; Washington, 26; California, 3; Kansas, 100. Total, 736.

"We now have thirteen chartered State Unions, with 17,938 chartered locals, and ten other States with 736 chartered locals—a total membership of 935,837 active union workers, an increase during the year of four State Unions, 673 local Unions, and 339,250 members."

The secretary's books were found to be in excellent shape, with a balance to the credit of the national union.

The election of officers for the next ensuing year was the order of business, and the following were elected for the next year:

President—C. S. Barrett, Atwater, Georgia.

Vice-President—J. E. Montgomery, Gleason, Tennessee.

Secretary-Treasurer—R. H. McCulloch, Beebe, Arkansas.

National Board of Directors—W. A. Morris, Sulligent, Alabama; W. S. Miller, Lake Creek, Texas; I. N. McCollister, Many, Louisiana; S. L. Wilson, Van Vleet, Mississippi; T. M. Jeffords, Elgin, Oklahoma.

Committees were appointed to report on live stock, long staple cotton, grain and other products of the farm.

J. M. Kneeland, of California, addressed the convention on the difficulties with which the people of California were confronted.

The committee on co-operative manufacturing reported as follows:

"To the President and Members of the National Union:

"We, your committee on co-operative manufacturing, beg leave to submit the following report:

"Whereas, through the evolution of productive industry, the simple tools of production have been transferred into powerful machines requiring large expenditures of capital and association of labor, thus becoming, as now owned and controlled by incorporated monopoly, a threatening menace to the producers of wealth, and,

"Whereas, the Farmers' Union being based upon the principles of co-operation, the logical expression of the purposes of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America is the progressive acquisition of the forces of production and distribution as will most effectively insure the benefits to the real producers of wealth—the farmers—and,

"Whereas, the beginning and limits of such industrial co-operation should be regulated by well-defined plans under the direction of an industrial department; therefore,

"We heartily recommend the policy of the Unions throughout the South in the building of co-operative gins, mills, warehouses, and canning factories, and would urge a more progressive work along these lines.

"In the matter of factories we can do no better at this time than to highly commend the plan of the co-operative woolen mills of Albuquerque, N. M., as the basis of true co-operation.

"We further believe that the proper thing to be done at this meeting is the creation of an industrial department, with full power to prepare plans to push the work of co-operative industry among farmers."

"Respectfully submitted,

"S. J. HAMPTON,

"J. M. KNEELAND,

"J. K. DEMPSAY,

"S. L. WILSON,

"Committee."

NATIONAL MEETING AT FORT WORTH, TEXAS.

On the first Tuesday in September, 1908, the Fourth National Convention of the Farmers' Union met in Fort Worth, Texas.

Mayor W. D. Harris, of Fort Worth, made the address of welcome, and Hon. D. J. Neill, President of the Farmers' Union of Texas, welcomed the delegates in behalf of the Union of the State.

The committee on credentials reported the States and number of delegates as follows:

"Alabama—seven votes: Mrs. O. P. Ford, J. J. Robinson, Jr., J. H. Wilson, J. M. Pierson, L. O. Cox, O. P. Ford, B. L. Hill.

"Arkansas—ten votes: John Bowers, M. F. Dickinson, J. A. Blackford, G. A. Billingsly, W. F. Tate, Miss Meah M. Merritt, W. I. Beck, A. A. Scott, W. C. Henderson.

"California—one vote: J. M. Kneeland.

"Colorado—one vote: M. N. Johnson.

"Florida—one vote: M. S. Knight.

"Georgia—seven votes: T. L. Hawkins, Miss Jimmie Doster, M. L. Day, B. J. Wooten, J. I. Fullwood, W. L. Moore, Frank Smith.

"Illinois—one vote: W. D. Crews.

"Indiana—one vote: W. W. Myers.

"Kansas—one vote: E. H. Hewins.

"Kentucky—one vote: R. L. Barnett.

"Louisiana—two votes: J. W. Boyett, Jr., J. F. Arceneaux.

"Mississippi—nine votes: G. R. Hightower, J. W. Boatright, J. M. Bass, H. E. Blakeslee, R. A. N. Wilson, G. W. Russell, Mrs. G. W. Russell, T. J. Johnson, S. A. Shoemake.

"Missouri—two votes: T. J. Douglas, J. M. Bowers.

"North Carolina—two votes: H. Q. Alexander, J. Z. Green.

"Oregon—one vote: F. A. Sikes.

"Oklahoma—seven votes: J. A. West, J. K. Armstrong, E. M. Smoot, William Garrison, J. S. Murray, J. Y. Calahan, G. W. York.

"South Carolina—three votes: T. C. Willoughby, Joseph L. Keitt, B. Harris.

"Tennessee—four votes: T. J. Brooks, J. T. Upton, Miss Cordelia May Derryberry, W. G. Perkins.

"Texas—six votes: E. A. Calvin, Lee Satterwhite, D. J. Neill, W. T. Loudermilk, J. C. Albritton, T. B. Taylor.

"Washington—one vote: H. D. G. Cox.

"We, your committee, make the following recommendations:

"First. That the nine delegates from Arkansas be allowed to cast the ten votes to which their State is entitled until the arrival of one of the following brethren: J. T. M. Holt or C. A. Swift, regularly elected alternates.

"Second. That the six delegates from Oklahoma be allowed

to cast the seven votes to which their State is entitled until the arrival of Brother G. W. York.

"Respectfully submitted,

"T. B. TAYLOR, *Chairman*,

"J. M. BOWERS, *Secretary*.

"W. A. MORRIS,

"M. F. DICKINSON,

"J. F. ARCENEAUX,

"W. F. TATE."

The following ladies were delegates or visitors, the first eleven being the guests of the *Union News* of Georgia:

Miss Georgia Smith, Bremen; Miss Myrtice Brown, Canon; Mrs. J. F. Lupo, Conyers; Miss Mattie S. Rogers, Quitman; Miss Ellye Kisor, Doyle; Miss Gussie Williams, Tennille; Miss Julia Riley, Milledgeville; Miss Maud M. Butler, Lilly; Miss Mättie Martin, Statesboro; Miss Annie Clyde Smith, Brouwood; Miss Clara Whitehead, Buford.

Mrs. R. F. Duckworth, Georgia; Mrs. R. L. Barnett, Kentucky; Mrs. W. S. Miller, Texas; Mrs. J. M. Rodisill, Oklahoma; Mrs. Ben L. Griffin, Arkansas; Mrs. Lee Satterwhite, Texas.

Committees as follows were appointed:

Committee on Constitution and By-Laws—T. J. Brooks, Tennessee; J. Z. Green, North Carolina; T. J. Douglass, Missouri; R. A. N. Wilson, Mississippi.

Committee on Gin Compression—J. W. Boatwright, Mississippi; W. S. Miller, Texas; G. A. Billingsly, Arkansas.

Committee on Good of the Order—O. P. Ford, Alabama; J. M. Bass, Mississippi; I. N. McCollister, Louisiana.

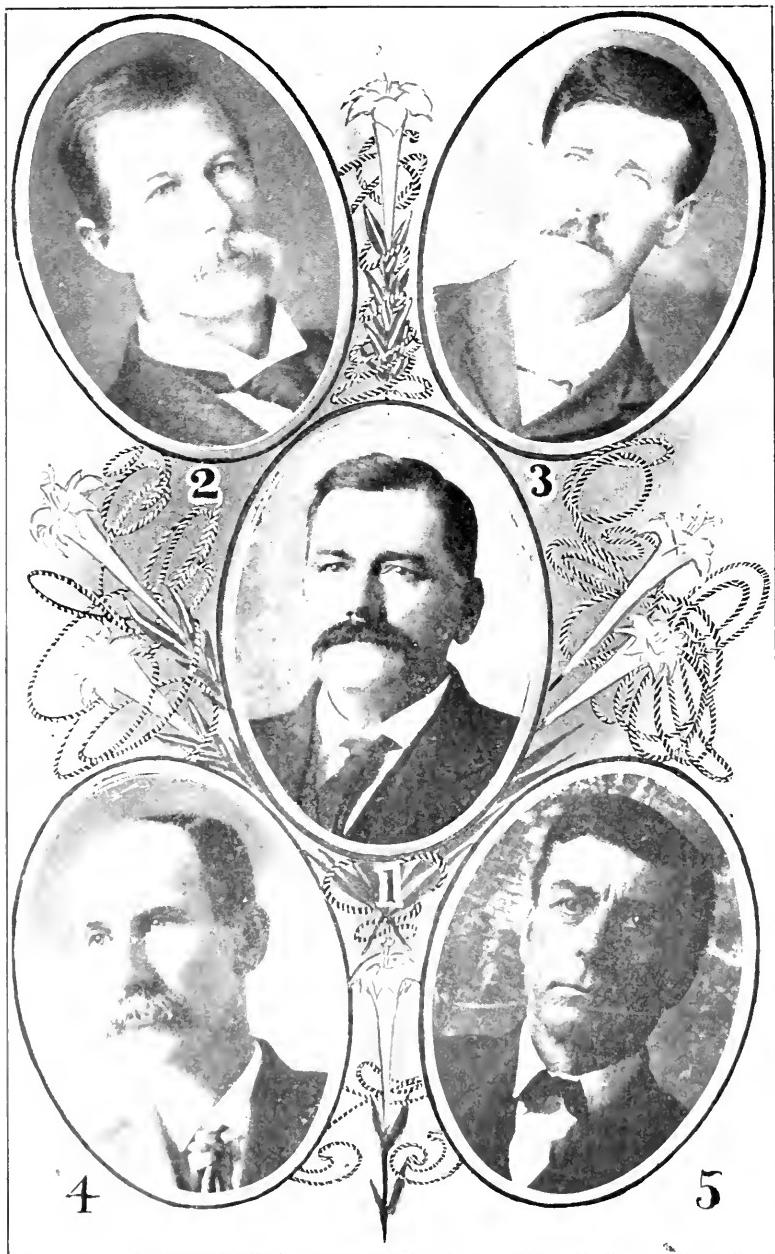
Committee on Marketing Tobacco—R. L. Barnett, Kentucky; H. Q. Alexander, North Carolina; W. G. Perkins, Tennessee.

Committee on Minimum Price for Short Staple Cotton—D. J. Neill, Texas; J. W. Boyett, Louisiana; T. L. Hawkins, Georgia; J. L. Keitt, South Carolina; J. E. Montgomery, Tennessee; J. J. Robinson, Alabama; G. R. Hightower, Mississippi; W. F. Tate, Arkansas; H. Q. Alexander, North Carolina; Lee Satterwhite, Texas; J. Y. Callahan, Oklahoma.

Committee on Legislation—Lee Satterwhite, Texas; T. M. Jeffords, Oklahoma; T. L. Hawkins, Georgia; J. W. Boyett, Louisiana.

Committee on Exchanges and Bucket Shops—D. J. Neill, Texas; J. A. West, Oklahoma; T. J. Brooks, Tennessee; J. W. Boyett, Louisiana; W. F. Tate, Arkansas.

Committee on Warehouses—E. A. Calvin, Texas; J. H. Wilson,



STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, GEORGIA DIVISION.

1. J. H. HOYLE, Chairman.

2. W. V. MARTIN.

3. S. J. SMITH.

4. J. D. ANDERSON.

5. W. T. HOUGUE.

Alabama; B. Harris, South Carolina; A. A. Scott, Arkansas; J. A. West, Oklahoma.

Committee on Minimum Price for Long Staple Cotton—M. S. Knight, Florida; M. L. Day, Georgia; B. Harris, South Carolina.

Committee on Grain Elevators—H. D. G. Cox, Washington; W. W. Myers, Indiana; W. D. Crews, Illinois; J. M. Bowers, Missouri; F. A. Sikes, Oregon; J. Y. Callahan, Oklahoma.

Committee on Co-operative Fire Insurance—T. J. Douglass, Missouri; J. M. Kneeland, California; J. Z. Green, North Carolina.

Committee on Truck and Fruit Growing—G. W. Russell, Mississippi; W. I. Beck, Arkansas; J. M. Bowers, Missouri.

Committee on Marketing Cotton—G. R. Hightower, Mississippi; W. T. Loudermilk, Texas; J. A. West, Oklahoma; J. M. Pearson, Alabama; B. J. Wooten, Georgia; A. A. Scott, Arkansas; I. N. McCollister, Louisiana; J. T. Upton, Tennessee; H. Q. Alexander, North Carolina; B. Harris, South Carolina.

Committee on Cotton Schools—J. C. Albritton, Texas; W. F. Tate, Arkansas; J. S. Murray, Oklahoma; W. L. Moore, Georgia.

Committee on Education—Miss Meah M. Merritt, Arkansas; Miss Jimmie Doster, Georgia; Miss Cordelia May Derryberry, Tennessee; Mrs. O. P. Ford, Alabama; Mrs. G. W. Russell, Mississippi; J. F. Arceneaux, Louisiana; T. J. Brooks, Tennessee.

Committee on Co-operation—H. E. Blakeslee, Mississippi; B. L. Hill, Alabama; W. C. Henderson, Arkansas.

Press Committee—J. T. Upton, Tennessee; M. N. Johnson, Colorado; W. F. Tate, Arkansas.

Committee on Resolutions—J. K. Armstrong, Oklahoma; W. I. Beck, Arkansas; J. Z. Green, North Carolina; J. I. Fullwood, Georgia; H. E. Blakeslee, Mississippi.

Committee on Marketing and Minimum Price for Grain—J. Y. Callahan, Oklahoma; T. J. Douglass, Missouri; H. D. G. Cox, Washington; W. D. Crews, Illinois; W. W. Myers, Indiana; E. H. Hewins, Kansas; William Garrison, Oklahoma; F. A. Sikes, Oregon.

Committee on Marketing Broom Corn—E. M. Smoot, Oklahoma; W. D. Crews, Illinois.

Committee on Wrapping Cotton—S. A. Shoemake, Mississippi; J. M. Bowers, Arkansas; L. O. Cox, Alabama.

Adjourned until 10:00 o'clock next morning.

The report of National Secretary R. H. McCulloch, a part of which is appended here, revealed unprecedented growth along all lines. The report in part says:

"During the past year I have issued charters to the State Unions of North Carolina, Colorado, Washington (including the Panhandle counties of Idaho), and Kentucky.

"Local Unions have been chartered in unorganized territory as follows: Colorado, 4; Indiana, 74; Kentucky, 226; California, 6; North Carolina, 164; New Mexico, 18; Oregon, 6; Washington, 63; Iowa, 1.

"The total number of chartered locals in the unorganized territory is as follows: Indiana, 107; California, 9; New Mexico, 41; Oregon, 10; Iowa, 1; Virginia, 3.

ORGANIZING WORK.

"Especial mention should be made of our body of organizers who have labored so faithfully in spreading the cause of unionism, the direct result of which has been the addition of the four State Unions mentioned above to the sisterhood of organized States. Especially do I desire to call your attention to the work being accomplished by our brother farmers of the great Northwest in that part known as the 'Inland Empire' country. Though far removed from the centers of unionism and separated from us by vast mountain barriers, they have caught the spirit of fraternalism and have successfully launched the State Union of Washington upon its mission, and are now turning their attention to the organization of its sister State, Oregon, with every prospect of its early accomplishment."

Miss Louise Whatley, of Louisiana, and Miss Lillian Wilson, of Kentucky, addressed the convention. The former spoke upon "Southern Womanhood," and the latter upon the growth of the Farmers' Union in Kentucky. Mrs. G. W. Russell, of Mississippi, Miss Nellie Horton, of Texas, and Miss Cordelia May Derryberry, of Tennessee, each made splendid addresses during the session of the convention.

The Fort Worth Convention considered many questions of importance. A minimum price for grain, the subject of co-operation, a minimum price for Sea Island cotton, grain elevators, legislation, gin compression of cotton, the sale of tobacco, education, cotton schools, the minimum price for short staple cotton, a co-operative fire insurance company, broom corn, the marketing of cotton, marketing of truck, and fruit growing were some of the questions considered by this convention.

It was the concensus of opinion that the marketing of farm products and the minimum price thereof should be given the right of way over all other business at the convention.

So strongly did this opinion prevail that a committee recommended, "that the marketing of farm products be at all times given precedence until all reports of such committees are disposed of." This report was adopted and became a part of the policy of the convention.

Officers as follows were elected: C. S. Barrett of Georgia, President; J. E. Montgomery of Tennessee, Vice President; R. H. McCulloch of Arkansas, Secretary-Treasurer. The National Board of Directors is composed of W. A. Morris, Alabama; T. M. Jeffords, Oklahoma; S. L. Wilson, Mississippi; I. N. McCollister, Louisiana, and W. T. Loudermilk of Texas.

CHAPTER XV.

NATIONAL RALLIES—ADDRESS BY THE HON. THOMAS E. WATSON, ATLANTA—FEATURES OF THE MEETING—TELEGRAM SENT TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT. MEETING IN MEMPHIS LARGEST GATHERING OF THE KIND. NEW ORLEANS RALLY ADDRESSED BY WATSON, LADSON AND GOV. SANDERS—TOPEKA BUSINESS CONGRESS—CONVENTION OF SPINNERS AND GROWERS—SOME UNWRITTEN HISTORY OF THE MEETING.

RALLIES OF THE NATIONAL UNION HELD AT ATLANTA, MEMPHIS AND NEW ORLEANS—BUSINESS CONGRESS AT TOPEKA AND THE SPINNERS' CONVENTION IN ATLANTA.

ON January 22, 23 and 24, 1907, there met in the city of Atlanta, Georgia, delegates and members from every State where the Union had been planted, for the purpose of engaging in the first real grand national rally.

National Secretary R. H. McCulloch says of the meeting:

"Pursuant to a call by the National President, Charles S. Barrett, a large and representative delegation from all the organized states and territories, and much of the unorganized field, was present at the State Capitol of Georgia promptly at 10 o'clock, January 22, 1907. Never in the history of the organization was ever such a gathering of actual farmers and especially under such a short notice. Before convening quite a number gathered in front of the Piedmont Hotel and formed a line of march to the Capitol in Atlanta, led by the National Officials, and as they marched the line was lengthened by others who had taken upon themselves the solemn obligations of a Farmers' Union ritual. It was the attraction of many a day in Atlanta to see that great army of farmers marching through the streets to the appointed place of meeting. The evening papers were full of most favorable comments and we are glad to say that the same spirit lasted throughout the meeting, for the Atlanta press was more than anxious to catch every action of the meeting. President Barrett delivered his opening address in which he explained the call. After the de-

votional exercises by National Chaplain L. N. Holmes of Louisiana, R. H. McCullough of Arkansas was unanimously elected secretary of the meeting. Brother McCullough appointed T. J. Brooks and Homer L. Higgs of Tennessee as assistant secretaries.

Immediately upon the assembling of the delegates in executive session in the hall of representatives of the State Capitol, committees as follows were appointed:

Resolutions—James Butler, Kansas; B. F. Earle, South Carolina; D. J. Neill, Texas; J. M. Bass, Mississippi; T. J. Brooks, Tennessee; J. D. Cathey, Florida.

Committee on Fertilizers—G. T. McElderry, Alabama; O. P. Ford, Georgia; H. F. Marr, Texas; J. G. Walton, Georgia; J. G. Eubanks, Georgia; P. F. Parker, J. W. Boyett, Jr., Louisiana.

Committee to Escort Hon. Thos. E. Watson to Auditorium—Ben L. Griffin, Arkansas; P. F. Parker, Alabama; E. A. Calvin, Texas.

Committee to Escort Col. John Temple Graves to Auditorium—Homer L. Higgs, Tennessee; James Butler, Kansas; O. P. Goodwin, South Carolina.

Press Committee—G. W. Russell, Mississippi; Wm. Eiland, Alabama; R. F. Duckworth, Georgia.

Farmers' Union Newspapers—D. J. Neill, Texas; J. B. Lewis, Arkansas; J. L. Barron, Georgia; T. J. Brooks, Tennessee; B. F. Earle, South Carolina.

Co-Operation—T. E. Pinegar, Alabama; J. G. Eubanks, Georgia; N. W. Halliday, Georgia; W. L. Anderson, South Carolina; J. L. Lee, Georgia.

Education—J. T. Upton, Tennessee; G. W. Russell, Mississippi; Thos. Hendricks, Georgia; T. T. Wakefield, South Carolina; G. M. Davis, Georgia.

Legislation—Homer L. Higgs, Tennessee; J. B. Lewis, Arkansas; R. F. Duckworth, Georgia; G. T. McElderry, Alabama; L. N. Holmes, Louisiana.

Manufacturing—O. P. Goodwin, South Carolina; P. F. Parker, Alabama; B. F. Earle, South Carolina; G. T. McElderry, Alabama; S. J. Smith, Georgia.

Good of the Order—J. L. English, Georgia; Dr. Duncan, Alabama; J. D. Anderson, Georgia; Homer L. Higgs, Tennessee.

Elevators—H. M. Ray, Missouri; J. S. Murray, Indian Territory; H. Beecher Lewis, Arkansas; R. L. Barnett, Kentucky.

Warehouses—E. A. Calvin, Texas; Dr. Duncan, Alabama; O. P. Goodwin, South Carolina; S. J. Smith, Georgia; J. A. West, Oklahoma.

Immigration—Ben L. Griffin, Arkansas; J. M. Bass, Mississ-

sippi; J. E. Montgomery, Tennessee; Wm. Eiland, Alabama; W. A. Morris, Alabama.

Agricultural Schools—W. W. Wilson, Georgia; Ben L. Griffin, Arkansas; R. F. Duckworth, Georgia; E. J. Cook, Alabama.

Wrapping Cotton—Thomas Hendricks, Georgia; Dr. Duncan, Alabama; S. J. Smith, Georgia; Mr. Sanders, Alabama; W. G. Watford, South Carolina.

Hon. Thomas E. Watson, of Thomson, Georgia, in his usually strong and vigorous style, addressed the members, delegates and visitors at the Broughton Tabernacle. Hon. John Temple Graves, then editor of the *Atlanta Georgian*, in well-rounded phrases, introduced the orator of the occasion. Before the speakers arrived the vast congregation of fully five thousand people occupied the time in singing old familiar hymns, such as "How Firm a Foundation," and "Old Time Religion." The Atlanta papers remarked upon this in their reports of the meeting.

FEATURES OF THE MEETING.

This meeting, in extent and scope, partook of the nature of a national convention. Delegates from every State where the Union existed were in attendance. On the morning of the first session of the convention, or rally, several hundred members of the Union assembled in the square in front of the postoffice, at the Grady monument, and, headed by a platoon of mounted policemen, paraded through the streets of the city. The marchers moved down Marietta to Broad, and up Broad to Alabama, then down Alabama to Whitehall and along Whitehall to Hunter and out Hunter to the State Capitol, where the convention was called to order in executive session. Some of the delegates in the line of march had provided themselves with cow bells and tin horns, which they jubilantly rang and blew.

The earlier part of the morning session of the convention was devoted to talks on cotton. The warehouse system, which was attracting considerable attention in Union circles, was discussed at length, and some details as to plans and management were worked out. At this session it was declared that the Union stood for the "Three P's—Progress, Prosperity and Power."

An action of no small consequence taken by this convention, was the one upon the eight-hour law. A resolution was passed calling upon the entire membership to bring the matter before their several locals and ask each member in as far as possible to see the members of the legislature and ask them to vote for the eight-hour law. Another matter of importance was the resolution asking for

the passage and strict enforcement of laws against the employment of children in factories. Uniform co-operative corporation laws in the various States was favored.

The delegates visited the Georgia School of Technology and were much pleased by what they saw. Col. John Martin, of Dallas, Texas, a cotton expert, addressed the convention on practical conditions of marketing the crops. He expressed a belief that in the future the membership of the Farmers' Union would control the price of cotton.

The following telegram was ordered by the convention to be sent to President Roosevelt:

"ATLANTA, GA., January 22.

"Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, President, Washington, D. C.:

"As the National President of the Farmers' Union of America, composed of 1,000,000 farmers of the South and West, which are in national meeting in Atlanta, I beg to notify you the convention did tonight, by a rising vote, indorse your action in discharging the soldiers implicated in the Brownsville riot. This action on the part of 3,000 delegates was suggested by Hon. Thomas Watson, while in the course of a speech in which he referred to your action.

"C. S. BARRETT."

The committee on the revision of the ritual remained in the city after the adjournment of the convention, for the purpose of perfecting the ritual.

JANUARY MEETING AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, 1907.

On January 7, 1907, there met in the city of Memphis, Tennessee, a convention of the Farmers' Union for the purpose of devising ways and means by which the cotton then held by the membership of the Union might be sold advantageously.

The Memphis meeting was among the best attended of all the national rallies held by the Farmers' Union. This meeting, in scope of work, was limited in its operations to the cotton-growing sections of the United States, but delegates from the State of Illinois attended, as did some from Missouri. Delegates from every cotton-growing State were present and participated in the deliberations of the body. Many of the largest planters of the South and Southwest attended and lent their aid in devising plans by which the membership of the Union was to be aided.

The Memphis meeting will go down in history as one of the largest and most enthusiastic ever held in that city. For fully

two days before the meeting of the convention every train brought delegates, and by the time the meeting was opened for business the city was filled with men interested in the ultimate action of the convention upon the question of cotton. The press dispatches sent out from Memphis on the morning of the opening of the convention convey some idea of the extensiveness of the meeting, and the influence of the Farmers' Unions upon current events. The quotation from a press dispatch is here cited as corroborating this statement. The press dispatch is as follows:

"The rapid growth of the Union since its organization, five years ago, has attracted attention in all parts of the country, and the convention now in session will discuss matters of vital interest to farmers in all sections."

It was evident from the very start that the Memphis meeting was held for the purpose of transacting business; business even pervaded the air, and those mixing and mingling with the delegation could not mistake the real purpose for which the meeting was called—the transaction of business.

The meeting planned for the reduction of the cotton acreage and the holding of whatever cotton was then on hand. This convention remained in session for three days, and the work it outlined and the plans it matured were not without very beneficial influence upon the price of cotton. Immediately after the adjournment of the convention cotton took an upward tendency, with the result that many realized more for their cotton than they would have otherwise done.

THE NEW ORLEANS RALLY, 1908.

Owing to the depressed price of cotton, ranging through the earlier months of the 1908 and 1909 cotton season, the membership of the Farmers' Union, and others who, like them, were dependent upon cotton for a living, felt that there ought to be some decisive steps taken looking to an increase in the price of cotton. Cotton was selling, in most places, below the cost of production, and farmers who were forced to put it on the market in order to meet their debts, were doing so at a loss. The feeling materialized in a call for the assembling of delegates of the Farmers' Union at New Orleans, La., November 11, 1908.

In the call for this convention an invitation was extended to others than the members of the Farmers' Union to meet in open session with the delegates on November 12. In Georgia, President John L. Lee wrote special letters of invitation to bankers, merchants, business men and farmers who were not members of

the Union, asking them to be present. This invitation was responded to by quite a number of men who were not members of the Union.

Georgia sent the largest delegation of any State to the New Orleans convention. On the morning of the tenth, delegates from every section of Georgia, and some from North Carolina and South Carolina, met in the city of Atlanta, where a special train was provided by the A. & W. P. Railway people to carry them to the seat of the convention. The special train carried about three hundred delegates. The New Orleans papers in speaking of the arrival of the train in that city said that: "For awhile after its arrival, Canal street was alive with farmers."

The slogan of the convention was higher prices for cotton. Many of the delegates wore cotton certificates, which easily indicated to all present that many of the members of the Farmers' Union leaned to this idea. The warehouse question was a live one, over which there was much discussion, and for which there were many plans proposed.

Among the distinguished visitors was Li Sum Ling, editor of the *Hong Kong Mail*. Li, who is but twenty-six years of age, is a very bright Oriental, and the newspaper of which he is the head ranks among the foremost of his country. Sitting in the convention and noting this Chinaman, one could not help but wonder what his thoughts were, and doubtless his write-up of the convention in the *Hong Kong Mail* would make interesting reading.

Many brilliant speeches were made by visitors, among them one by Hon. Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, one by Governor J. Y. Sanders of Louisiana, and one by C. T. Ladson of Atlanta.

TOPEKA BUSINESS CONGRESS.

What is known as the Topeka Business Congress met in Topeka, Kansas, October, 1906. This meeting was attended by delegates from most of the Southern States, and some from the grain-growing States. The meeting was not a secret one, but was open to delegates who represented co-operative interests in every section of the United States. However, the majority of the delegates present were members of the Farmers' Union, and the meeting was largely under the direction of the Union. This congress accomplished very little for the farmer, but by reason of it having met in Topeka the attention of the people of Kansas was prominently called to the Farmers' Union, and the Kansas Farmers' Union reaped some good from this meeting.

THE CONVENTION OF THE SPINNERS AND GROWERS.

Early in October, 1907, representatives from many English and Continental cotton mills of Europe met representatives of the Farmers' Union and the Southern Cotton Growers' Association in a conference in the city of Atlanta, Georgia. Many of the leading spinners of Manchester, England, France, Spain, and Germany were present. The Farmers' Union delegation held executive sessions before and after the conference meeting each day. At one of these sessions R. Seidenburg, Jr., from New York City, a member of the Cotton Exchange, and said to be Hubbard's right-hand man, was present, and according to the *Atlanta Georgian*, got a little better opinion of the Southern farmers than he had before. The *Gcorgian* gives a bit of unwritten history of the convention, as follows:

"During the conference of spinners, President Barrett, of the Farmers' Union, called a conference of Union men here to meet in the Senate Chamber in the evening. President Barrett was passing through the Piedmont lobby when he ran across Seidenburg.

"'Where are you going, Barrett?' asked the New Yorker.

"'Over to the capitol to a little conference of the boys,' was the reply.

"'Say, Barrett, you know I should like to go to that meeting. You people do not understand the New York Cotton Exchange and our methods. I should like to talk to your people, and I think we can come to a better understanding,' said Seidenburg.

"'Well, old fellow,' said President Barrett, 'I am going to smash a precedent by admitting an outsider to one of our meetings. The only condition is that you will let the boys ask you a few questions.'

"Seidenburg agreed readily. Charlie Barrett is far from being as unsophisticated as surface appearances might indicate. Before the broker saw the inside of the Senate chamber some of 'the boys' were told he was coming.

"Just what happened inside of that room in the next two hours will perhaps never be known. No Farmers' Union man will tell you, and it could not be wrung out of Seidenburg with a clothes press. It is known that he came out of that session wearing a rather dazed expression, while several score plain old farmers came away licking their chops as though the meal was quite satisfying.

"Seidenburg, so the story goes, made a twenty-minute talk. It was as smooth as velvet, suave, and altogether to the glory of the

New York Cotton Exchange. He was given most respectful hearing. Those Union men sat drinking in all that the smooth Gothamite was saying as if believing it every word.

"Then the storm broke loose. Concluding his remarks, he was under a running fire of questions for an hour and a half. And every shot told. No mistaking the fact that those tillers of the soil knew a deal about business.

"Before it was over Mr. Seidenburg felt that they knew even more than he did about the cotton business. When pinned squarely down to it, he admitted that the New York Cotton Exchange needed regulating in certain particulars.

"'Say,' Seidenburg is reported to have said to a friend afterwards, 'don't you go on the theory that these Southern cotton growers are as green as most people think. They are about the shrewdest bunch I ever ran across, and they gave me about the most uncomfortable hour and a half I've spent in a long while.'

"Ask a Farmers' Union man about it, and he will only smile. But it is a satisfied smile."

This conference did not bring about the good results that many hoped it would. For many had expected to get into direct touch with the spinners and ship cotton from their delivery point to the cotton mills of Europe. This, however, has not been realized. The future may witness the direct trade relations hoped for, and with continued aggressiveness on the part of Union members this can be realized.

CHAPTER XVI.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE—PRINCIPLES OF THE ORDER—THE ALLIANCE IN POLITICS—STRIFE AND BITTERNESS—HOW THE ALLIANCE BEGAN—REASONS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF THE ALLIANCE—DOWNFALL OF THE ALLIANCE—THE FARMERS' WHEEL—CONSTITUTION OF THE WHEEL, GRANGE, ETC.

No history of the Farmers' Union would be complete without a brief history of the Alliance and kindred farmers' organizations. The Farmers' Alliance and other organizations of a like nature have been as stepping stones to the Farmers' Union. After the war the Southern farmers found themselves practically bankrupted, and had to do business on a credit and mortgage system. Unscrupulous tradesmen took undue advantage of this condition of affairs to overcharge for what they had to sell and to under pay for what the farmer had to sell.

The National Grange, the Farmers' Wheel and the Farmers' Alliance were organized as protests against mercenary oppressors. Each played their part, and the farmers were better off for having had membership in those organizations than if they had not.

The most prominent of these organizations, and the one that attracted the widest attention, was the Alliance. This organization played an important part in the politics of the nation for some six or eight years. The policies outlined by the Alliance have, in some measures, become incorporated into the platform of most of the political parties.

Politicians, however, caused the disintegration of the best farmers' organization that the world had ever known up to that time—the Alliance. Politicians, noting the rapidity with which the farmers were flocking into the Alliance, hastily availed themselves of the chance to profess their love for and their undying devotion to the Alliance, and later some of them turned traitors.

The farmers believed the politicians who told them that if they would elect them to official positions, that they would do great and wonderful things for the country. Schemers looking for po-

litical preferment and emoluments of office were as thick as the proverbial hair on the dog's back. They were everywhere. They swarmed to the mass meetings, rallies, picnics and conventions of the Alliance, and with pleasant phrases and sugared nothings patted the farmer on the back and told him that he was a good fellow and ought to be represented in the distribution of office. Every man who wanted an office praised the Alliance, and told the members that they could do anything. The members of the Alliance, not versed in the ways of the politician, readily accepted the statements made, and set to work to elect men to the various offices, from bailiff of a militia district to the President of the United States.

In some of the States all the officials, including the Governor, a majority of the members of the Legislature and the State Senate, were elected by members of the Alliance. A number of Congressmen and Senators were elected. It looked at one time as if the Alliance would be a very formidable political party. The Republican and Democratic parties saw in the Alliance a dangerous rival. Bitterness and strife marked the progress of the campaigns. States were torn asunder, old political parties were broken up and old-line politicians were thrown out of office. These politicians who lost their jobs and who were out of touch with the Alliance put their heads together and began industriously to lay plans for the destruction of the Alliance. They met the defenders of the Alliance principles in joint debates, and adroitly brought accusations against some of its prominent leaders. These accusations sowed seed of dissension among the membership that sprang up and bore fruit in a very short time. As long as the membership of the Alliance was a unit they swept everything before them, but when they began to wrangle and to lose confidence in the leaders, the old-line politicians knew that the days of the Farmers' Alliance were numbered.

The overthrow of the Alliance was the object of many plans and schemes and shrewd trickery. To get a fight going within the ranks was all the politician wanted. Like the famous Roman orator, Marc Antony, he could say, "Exeunt, Mischief, thou art afoot!"

THE BEGINNING OF THE ALLIANCE.

The Farmers' Alliance had its beginning at Poolville, Parker County, Texas, and was organized July 28, 1879. Some four years previous to this time the settlers of Lampassas County had organized in opposition to the encroachment of the cattlemen. They called their organization the Farmers' Alliance, but it soon fell

through. Late in the year 1879 delegates from Parker and adjoining counties met and organized a State Alliance. The Alliance worked for the first year without any charter. On the 6th of October, 1880, a charter from the State of Texas, empowering the organization to grant charters and transact any other business was secured. On the 18th day of January, 1887, a National Alliance was organized at Waco, Texas. The delegates composing this body were principally from Texas and Louisiana. They adopted a constitution and by-laws and outlined the plan by which the work was to be started in other States.

Newt. Gresham, the founder of the Farmers' Union, along with four other organizers, was sent into the State of Alabama. J. B. Wilkes about the same time came to Georgia. Florida, Mississippi, Kentucky, Arkansas, and North Carolina were visited by organizers about the same time. Tennessee was entered by the organizers some time during the year.

The next National Alliance met in the city of Dallas, with delegates from nine States. This convention considered the questions of transportation, education, politics, and co-operation. Committees reported on these various subjects.

In October, 1887, delegates from ten States representing the Alliance, and delegates from other States representing the Wheel, a prominent organization of farmers, met in Shreveport, La., for the purpose of devising plans of mutual co-operation. This meeting remained in session for five days, and every phase of co-operation was discussed. It was the opinion of a large number of the delegates who represented both orders that the Alliance and the Wheel ought to be merged into one.

In 1888 delegates from the National Alliance and the National Wheel met in the city of Meridian, Mississippi, and agreed upon the consolidation of the two organizations, provided that three-fourths of the States of both organizations ratified the proposition. This proposition was submitted to a vote of several States, and was ratified by the membership. This consolidation proved beneficial, and the Alliance started on a campaign of aggressiveness. The West was entered, and soon strong organizations existed in the grain-growing States.

REASONS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF THE ALLIANCE.

An emergency of national importance called into existence the Alliance. Farms were mortgaged and the country people were receiving but few educational advantages. The non-producing class controlled, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific farmers felt that

they ought to receive some kind of recognition. Mortgages were eating up the farmer, toil as he would. Many of the farmers could not meet the expenses of the farm and pay interest on the outstanding indebtedness.

Kansas is said to have been as much mortgaged as was South Carolina. At the time of the organization of the Alliance there were not many farms in either State that did not have during some part of the year a mortgage upon it. What was true of Kansas and South Carolina, as concerns the mortgaging of farms, was true of almost every other agricultural State in the United States.

The schoolhouses were makeshifts, and the school terms barely three months in length. Teachers were poorly paid, so much so that no teacher wanted to go into the country for a three-months' term and teach for the salary paid. The country people longed for something better. They wished a change. They wanted to pay off the mortgages, but did not have the means to do so. They wanted better schools and better teachers, but did not know how to secure them. They knew that they were paying their proportion of the taxes, but did not know how to get their share.

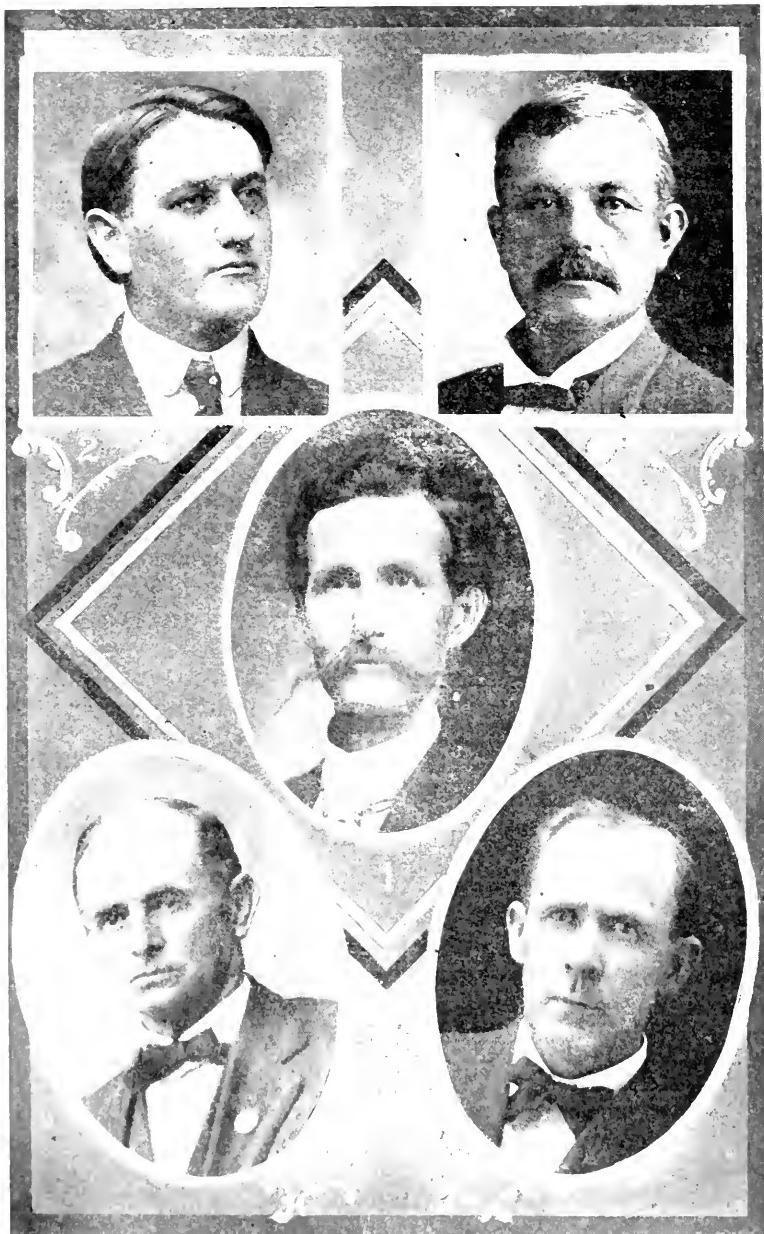
The mutterings of the people became more apparent and the sentiment that they were not rightly treated grew day by day. They understood what they needed and what they wanted, but did not know how to get it. As individuals they were powerless. What could one man do against a thousand? The farmers went about in a listless manner. The future held out to them but little of promise. They must work and work to keep the interest paid up on the mortgage on the farm. At the end of the year they always found that there was very little left.

The sentiment among the farmers, due to some extent to prejudices, drew them in great numbers into the Alliance, and when politics became a factor they joined even more rapidly than when the slogan was, "In things essential, unity and in all things, charity."

PRINCIPLES OF THE ALLIANCE.

The purposes of the Alliance, as worked out, were for the best interest of the farmer, and the principles as set forth in the declaration of purposes are lofty and noble. The clause demanding better educational facilities takes rank on an equal footing with the demands made by any order or organization.

In business matters the following belief is expressed: "We believe the prevailing system is in many particulars wrong, and that between the producer and consumer, the buyer and the seller,



PROMINENT WORKERS, GEORGIA DIVISION.

1. D. A. CARMICAL, Founder of Union City and President of Carmical Implement Company.
2. J. L. BARRON, Ex State Secretary Treasurer and Secretary Treasurer Union Phosphate Company.
3. S. S. BARRETT, Ex Chairman State Executive Committee.
4. B. J. WOOTEN, Organizer and Lecturer.
5. J. G. EURANKS, State Business Agent.

the methods should be changed, the process shortened and the expenses reduced, and plans adopted that will more justly and satisfactorily distribute the profit and give to labor a fair share of its earnings." The first declaration of purposes was outspoken against political alignments, and in this same declaration appears a strong condemnation of class legislation and the existence of monopolies. Excessive taxation and the lavish expenditure of public moneys is said by the declaration to be wrong.

In the general summary lawsuits and litigations between members of the order is forbidden. A provision for the settlement of differences and misunderstandings by arbitration is made. The general summary also declares: "We shall constantly strive to suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices." Perhaps no act of any men or set of men had as much to do with breaking down the barriers between the North and South and allaying the hatred and animosity of the two sections as did the short declaration here quoted. "We shall teach that, as citizens of one government, we should feel a common interest in its affairs, and that our patriotism and good will for one another should not be measured by sections or geographical lines to suit the purposes of politicians."

One section of the declaration of purposes may be said in a measure to furnish a key to the problem why the Alliance failed. It is well to insert here that clause: "In our meetings and through our press we shall discuss and examine into the best and most approved methods of farming; the preparation of the soil; planting, cultivation, harvesting, handling and marketing of crops and farm and agricultural products in general; also the raising of live stock, dairying, fruit growing, gardening, etc.; and, in short, every branch of agriculture that goes to make up the full line of farm life and render it pleasant and profitable."

The production and yield were too largely stressed, while the selling of the products of the farm was given but little attention. Farmers vied with each other in an effort to see who could cultivate the most acres and get the biggest yield from it. Some desultory efforts were made at warehouse building, but these were for storage purposes only, with no well-defined plans as to the marketing of cotton and other stuff stored in the warehouses.

THE FARMERS' WHEEL.

One of the first organizations for the farmers was known as the Farmers' Wheel, and, like a great many other organizations of a like nature, was of humble origin.

In February, 1882, W. A. Suit and W. T. McBee called a meeting of farmers in an old log schoolhouse near the town of Desarc, in Prairie County, Arkansas. There were present all told ten men; eight of these ten took part in the meeting; the other two did not look with favor upon the movement. At this time the farmers of Arkansas were burdened with debts and mortgages, and in the hope that they might render their condition more tenable they organized what is known as the Farmers' Wheel.

A writer of that time cites the following as one of the many reasons for the organization of the Wheel:

"Samuel N. Beard executed an anaconda mortgage on his stock and crop to be grown; he drew \$43 worth of supplies at the usual prices in such cases. His stock and crop were worth more than that amount. His wife languished on a bed of sickness during the summer, and at last was too weak to digest any longer the strong and coarse food which her husband had, and her doctor ordered beef tea. . . . The door of the cabin in which he lived had no shutter; the chill November winds were sweeping through it, imperiling the life of his wife. In this extremity he bartered seventy pounds of his cotton for lean beef to make soup for his wife and for a shutter to the door. For this, Beard was indicted and sent to the penitentiary for one year. He offered to show that the property covered by the mortgage exceeded in value the mortgage debt, and that he could have no intention to defraud; but the court said that the statute said nothing about the intention with which the act was done, and that it was also immaterial whether the remaining property was worth more or less than the mortgage debt; that the offense by the words of the act was complete by the simple act of selling or trading any part of the mortgaged property, without regard to motive or any other facts, and the Supreme Court of the State affirmed the judgment. But the judges of that court were so shocked at the inhumanity of the law (and should have been none the less shocked at the merchant) that they urged upon the legislature its repeal or modification, and under pressure of that recommendation it was modified; but in the meantime Beard was sent to the penitentiary. He was pardoned by the Governor."

CONSTITUTION OF THE WHEEL.

The constitution of the Wheel expressly provided "that it shall be for the improvement of its members in the theory and practice of agriculture and the dissemination of knowledge relative to rural and farming affairs." The eligibility of members was limited to

"white persons who would sign the constitution and by-laws and who were engaged in farming." The officers were president, two vice-presidents, secretary, chaplain and treasurer.

One month after organization there were but twenty-one members. From this time on the growth was more pronounced, and on April 19, 1883, the State Wheel was organized at the residence of W. T. McBee, near the place where the first local Wheel was organized. The second year was one of increase. Tennessee and other States were organized.

During the year 1884 seven States and one territory had local Wheels. The Wheel grew from seven members in 1882 to five hundred thousand in 1887, and up to that time was the largest body of organized farmers in the country. The Wheel was instrumental in doing a great deal of good, and would have doubtless grown to be a mammoth organization had it not been absorbed by the Farmers' Alliance at Meridian, Mississippi, in 1888.

THE GRANGE.

An organization that began in the Northwest shortly after the war was styled the Grange. This organization spread through most of the States and Territories of the United States, and at one time was a very prominent organization in the South. It is still very strong and useful in the North and Middle West. The Grange devoted its energies to buying. The chief officials and the membership considered this as one of the very important policies of the order. For years the Grange thrived and grew, but the Alliance supplanted it in many States.

The present officials of the Grange are N. J. Bachelder, Master, Concord, New Hampshire, and C. M. Freeman, Secretary, Tippecanoe City, Ohio.

The Grange has organizations in New Hampshire, West Virginia, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Vermont, and other States. In the northeastern section of the United States the organization has lived through all these years and has been the means of benefiting its membership.

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF EQUITY.

In the Middle West and Northwest is to be found the American Society of Equity. This society is confined largely to the grain-growing belt. Its meetings are after the mass meeting kind. There is no secret work, passwords or signs. For many years this society has held its meetings in country sections, towns and hamlets, and has succeeded in improving farm conditions.

The Society of Equity was founded by J. A. Everett, of Indianapolis, in October, 1902, and had for its object the consolidation of the farmers of the country. Its operation has been confined largely to securing better prices for Western farm products. J. A. Everett was the first president.

OTHER FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS.

There have been several other farmers' organizations which existed for awhile, but finally died or were merged with other organizations under different names. Some of these organizations covered two or three States, while others were confined to counties or congressional districts. Illinois has led in point of number of organizations. The Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association was organized in the southern part of the State in 1886. The Farmers' Social and Economic Union was organized at Bush Creek Schoolhouse April 27, 1900, and received a charter from the State of Illinois May 17, 1900. The Farmers' Relief Association was organized at Frail Schoolhouse May, 1900, and consolidated with the Farmers' Union April 26, 1906. All these organizations were later merged with the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America March 27, 1907.

All these organizations did a considerable amount of good, spreading, as they did, into Indiana, Kentucky, and Missouri.

CHAPTER XVII.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES--STATE BUSINESS AGENT VISITING COUNTY TO GET COURTHOUSE DOOR OPENED--EXPERIENCES WITH AN ORGANIZER--WHAT THE DRUMMERS SAID--AN ORGANIZER SUMMONED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE MAYOR--BORROWING MONEY--SETTLING A ROW IN A COUNTY UNION--BEING SUED--CANED FOR DOING DUTY.

MY experiences in connection with the Farmers' Union have been varied. Some of the experiences have been serious and some of them funny. All tend to show the class and condition of the people with whom the officials have had to deal in the past and with whom they will have to deal in the future. I had some hesitancy in taking up so delicate a subject as this, but many of my friends who knew of instances hereinafter set forth, as a lawyer would say, urged me to write them down for the guidance of those who may have to deal with like things in the future.

Before the State Union was organized in Georgia, we had a State meeting in Thomaston, at which some forty counties were represented. At this meeting, I was chosen as Business Agent for the State, which then had 312 local Unions. Representatives from these locals pledged one dollar per month from each local Union to help defray the expenses of the department. The delegates were very enthusiastic over the proposition, so they went home, and the enthusiasm died out to some extent, for after five months, when my books were examined by a committee, but \$46.00 had been sent in from the 312 local Unions. The remainder of the story is copied from Tom Watson's *Jeffersonian*:

"At one of the early State Conventions, Sir Grumpty Growler and Colonel Greeneye Marplot made some remarks that indicated doubt as to whether the finances had been properly handled. Barrett quietly produced the books and vouchers, which not only proved that he had been working for almost nothing, but had spent from his own slender resources several hundred dollars to keep the thing going. Ashamed of their suspicions and grumblings, the conven-

tion sent out a committee to buy for their president the finest gold watch that could be found in Atlanta—a gift to remind him of their affectionate gratitude."

* * *

The first money I got to run my Business Department, I borrowed from R. F. Duckworth, but I do not know from whom he borrowed the \$50.00 which he loaned me.

* * *

My first official act after being elected President of Georgia, was to visit a county for the purpose of getting the courthouse door opened, in which the County Union had been meeting, and from which they had been excluded by order of the county officials. I secured the services of an attorney, who was a consequential-looking young fellow, and capable of assuming the gravity of an English Chief Justice. He had his head high in the air like a thoroughbred. Before starting, I told the young lawyer if he would do as I said, we would have no trouble in impressing the sheriff and other county officials with our importance. The attorney said: "No, you do as I say. I'm the attorney, and ought to be listened to." I said, "No, you ask a lot of questions, and look wise," all of which he did to perfection. I told him to ask for their records and proceed to examine them in a manner to convince them that he was no ordinary lawyer of small calibre, but one of great mental capacity and much learning. Arriving at the depot, I expected to see a large crowd of farmers and countrymen down to meet me, as I was their newly-elected president, but to my great disappointment, I did not see but one man who looked like he was from the country. He was at the far end of the platform, and came slowly toward the attorney and myself, as if he was afraid to be found in our company. I went forward and armed him. Together he, the attorney and myself, started up the street. I asked my new-found friend where the rest of the boys were, and he said "They are around town somewhere." On our way, two or three came out of an alley and joined us. In answer to my questions, they told me that the other boys were around town somewhere, but I could not see them. Now, do not understand me to say that anybody had been hid out. At the courthouse, the young lawyer played his part well, and I got to talking pretty big. The boys who had not hid out, hearing me, began to pour in, and in a short while we had two or three hundred farmers in and around the courthouse. In some way, the doors of the courthouse were opened: not by

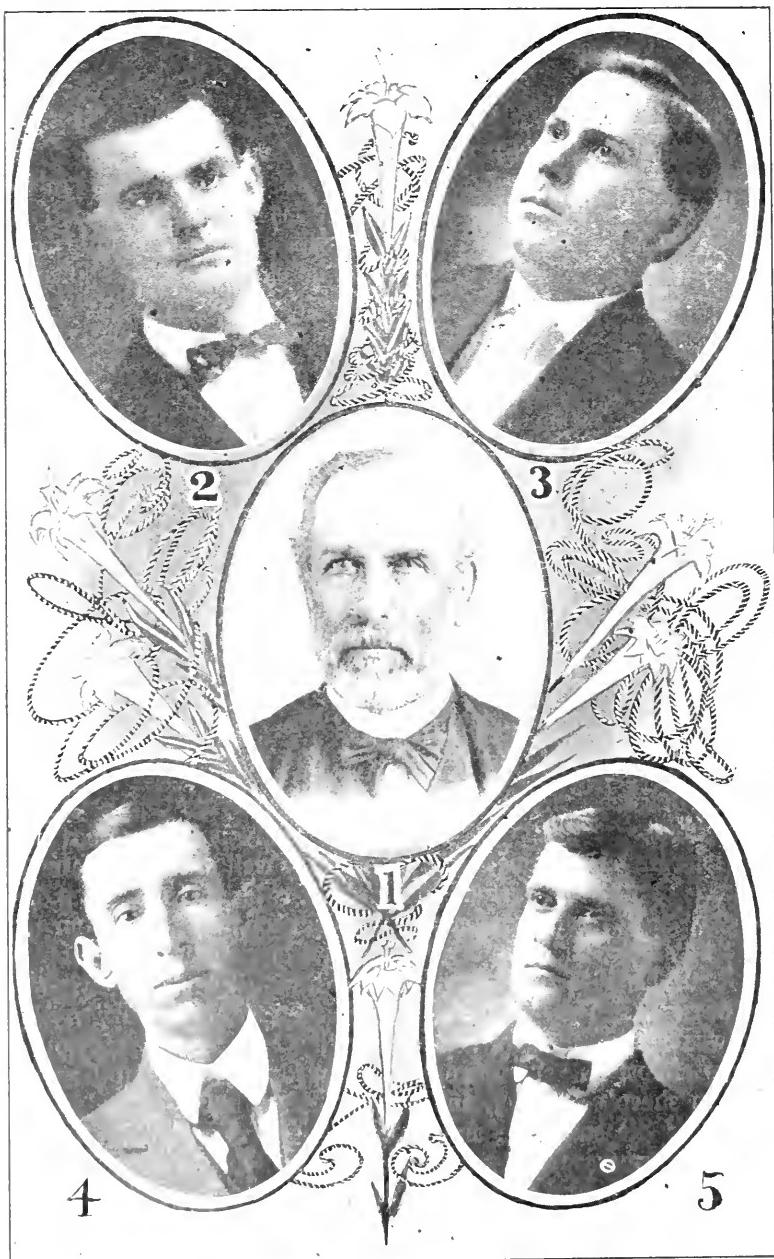
force or violence, but they were opened, nevertheless, and we had a good county meeting.

* * *

One of the funniest experience I ever had was with a cracker-jack organizer. This man had raised a lot of sand while I was State President in Georgia, and with the sand-raising organized a lot of local Unions. He invited me to his chief stamping ground to help him. He met me at the depot with a carriage and a pair of fine horses, and carried me to a good hotel, where I was dined in royal style. After dinner he borrowed the money from me to pay for the carriage and the dinner. Of course that was the last I ever saw of that money. Next he took me out to see a large crowd that he said he had lassoed for me to organize. He may have had them lassoed, but he did not have them branded, and the rope was not on very tight anyhow. He made one of the finest speeches I ever heard, but the crowd did not seem to warm up somehow, and there was nothing doing in the membership line. After he had finished, a substantial-looking old fellow took me aside and said: "If you get rid of that damned dude I will join your shebang." That "damned dude" had on a collar as high as a whitewashed fence, a plug hat, silk hosiery, and a jim swinger. He illustrates that you cannot approach the farmer with the same methods that will go in the city, though I do not say that the farmer is not entitled to and ought not to wear a plug hat.

* * *

On one occasion I was going from Barnesville to Thomaston at night on the train. The coach was dimly lighted with a few kerosene lamps, and one could not see very well in the hazy atmosphere. On the seat just ahead of me sat two drummers, who discussed the Farmers' Union and my connection with it from the time we started until we arrived at our destination. I was forced to sit and listen to every word they said, without their knowing of my presence. They said I was receiving a \$10,000 salary a year, and was fleecing the poor farmer, together with a good many other things almost as complimentary, intended to show that I was a wolf in sheep's clothing, and a d---n fool in addition. In the course of the sulphuric and profane commentary, they declared that the farmers would not join the Union, and if they did, they would not stick, and even if they did stick, the d---n fools did not have sense enough to do anything. While they were talking, a passenger who had overheard them leaned over and said: "You fellows had better get a move on yourselves, for this is one time



PROMINENT WORKERS, GEORGIA DIVISION.

1. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, Prominent Organizer.
2. W. L. MOORE, Manager Buying Department.
3. C. H. GILLATT, Manager Cotton School.
4. C. W. H. SMITH, Prominent Organizer.
5. J. E. BOLENHAMMER, Business Manager *Farmers' Union News*.

when the d——n fools are going to do something." The next day I met one of the drummers in town, and was introduced to him. I told him that I had overheard his conversation, through no fault of my own, and explained a few things regarding the Union to him. He is today one of my friends.

* * *

When my County Union (Upson) was organized, the organizer, a very intelligent and persistent worker, had called the meeting for 10 o'clock. On the afternoon before the meeting, the organizer was summoned by the marshal to appear before the Mayor at 10 o'clock the next morning. A trivial charge had been preferred against him so as to take him away from the meeting at the appointed hour, and prevent the County Union from being organized. The meeting took place as advertised, and the Upson County Union was organized according to schedule. Frank Duckworth, the State Organizer, appeared on the scene just in time.

* * *

One of my first official acts after being elected a member of the National Board of Directors was to proceed with five others to give a note for a thousand dollars to help defray the expenses of the national organization. Newt Gresham, O. P. Pyle, Campbell Russell, J. N. McCollister, E. J. Cook and myself signed the note and secured the money. When this thousand dollars was used up, we proceeded to borrow five hundred more, but by that time the dues were coming in, and we did not have to borrow any more money.

* * *

My first official act as National President was to settle a row in one of the most aristocratic counties in the State of Georgia. This was one of the so-called Union rows, in which some of the most prominent men in the State took sides. For some time it looked as if there might be real trouble. I was inexperienced then, and did not know how to take things of the kind, and then the prominence of the parties dazed me, but I got through with it somehow. I do not know how successful I was, but the County Union is still alive and doing business. I have never had the pleasure of visiting the county since in an official capacity, but I have many assurances of a hearty welcome if I ever do.

* * *

I, along with five others, was once sued for \$200,000 to cover damages that was charged we had done to the feelings and charac-

ter of certain members of the organization. The jury made a mistrial. I was afterward informed that one of the jurymen wanted to give damages against four of us to the amount of one dollar—my part being twenty-five cents; another wanted to fine four of us two hundred dollars—my part being fifty dollars, and the other ten were against giving anything whatever. A mistrial was the result. Originally the suit, as stated, was for \$200,000, but those bringing the suit thought that amount too high, and reduced it to \$40,000.

* * *

At a State meeting, I was on a street car late at night, when I saw a crowd coming down from upstairs. One of the number got on the car, and I asked him what they were doing up there. He said they had just held a caucus, and had decided that I should not preside over the meeting next day. I presided, however, and the leader of the caucus headed a delegation that presented me with a handsome cane for fairness in my rulings. This was one instance where I really got "caned" for doing my duty.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ROOSEVELT AND THE COMMISSION ON COUNTRY LIFE.

IT has been my privilege and my pleasure to be of some slight service to the farmers of America in connection with President Roosevelt's Commission on Country Life.

Many of our State and National conventions have adopted resolutions thanking Mr. Roosevelt for his intelligent interest in the farmers of this country, and his aid and influence in the solution of their problems. I am not, therefore, overstepping the bounds when I give due tribute to this truly remarkable man. He is now in the retirement of private life, or, rather, he is giving the wild animals of the African jungle some very unhappy half hours. But he has been of infinite service to the common people of America, not in the sense that the cheap politician uses the term "common people," but in its real significance.

Like Henry George some years ago, he is not for the laboring man or the farming man; he is for men!

He has done more to bring that filthy abstraction, "the square deal," into actual observance than any President in our history. He may have disregarded precedents and trodden on sensitive toes. But he has been brave and vigorous, according to his light, and we could ask no more of any man or angel.

The Commission on Country Life did not seek, as some of our dense, or stupid, or malicious friends thought it sought, to teach the farmer his business or to make over creation while-you-wait. It was founded on the supposition that the farmer is at a fatal disadvantage with the rest of society, a fact that has been stressed throughout these pages. It aimed at investigating and discovering these inequalities and striving to remove or to mitigate them.

The report of the commission, of which the newspapers carried a complete summary, is significant from the standpoint that many portions of its recommendations read like resolutions passed at Farmers' Union conventions.

Many of the measures for which the Union stands, have been emphatically favored by the commission. I am glad to have been

of service to the brethren in impressing these principles on the other members of the commission.

It should not be forgotten that the commission and its work, did not by any means partake of a political office. There was no compensation from the government or any other source, and I happen to know that some of the commissioners paid at least part of their own traveling expenses. They were simply appointed as a sort of committee to investigate and report on conditions.

Once you concede that the countryman is at woeful disadvantage to the city man and there must be reasons why; you can see the cause back of the founding of the Commisison on Country Life. I have no patience with these thin-brained brethren who think that because we all realize the needs of the farmer that there is no use to talk about them.

We all realize the righteousness and beauty of the Ten Commandments, but we would be a mighty poor lot if we ceased teaching and observing them. We all realize that it is the commonest and most ordinary thing in the world to get hungry three times a day, but we are always talking about it, and we would be occupying nice little plots in the cemetery if we did not hustle to meet the needs of that hunger.

That is just exactly what the Commission on Country Life had as the object of its existence.

I am glad to say that it by no means interfered with the discharge of my duties as President of the Farmers' Union.

CHAPTER XIX.

STATE ORGANIZATION—TEXAS, OKLAHOMA, ARKANSAS.

TEXAS.

In a history of the Farmers' Union, it is necessary to give briefly the details relating to the organization of the various State Unions, and since Texas was the first to become organized into Statehood, it is proper that she should occupy a position of honor among her sister States.

Time and space will not permit me to go as extensively into the details of the various State organizations as I wish. However, it is my purpose to record the principle features, and to give a brief history of each State organization that posterity may know the struggles that determined and heroic men faced in every part of the country; the opposition with which they were met at every place, and the successes which attended their splendid efforts. All things considered, the progressive march of the Union is little short of marvelous.

We are want to pay tribute to the valorous deeds of the brave who have sacrificed their lives upon the alters of their country. Nothing so stirs the fighting blood of a nation or raises it to a fever heat as the result of patriotic effort made in defense of the country's honor. On memorial occasions when flowers are placed upon the graves of the dead, who have lain down their lives in defense of the principles of their country, orators in well rounded periods stir the ardor of men to a high pitch. The student poring over musty volumes in the still hours of the night, catches an inspiration that thrills and enthuses him. The poet searching for figures by which to convey the idea of epic greatness, finds no more fitting and proper subject than those recorded in history. Could I, through the cold printed pages of this book, convey to my reader an idea of the sufferings and disappointments of the men who tramped through heat and cold, during the earlier days of the Union to tell the farmers about the organization, it would prove a task greater than I am able to accomplish.

The great organization of the Farmers' Union was conceived in the mind of Farmer Newt. Gresham. Gresham had been a member of the Farmers' Alliance, in which order he was an active worker and organizer. He kept his membership in the Alliance until the grand old organization, the forerunner of the Union, was laid to rest in a premature grave. As soon as the Alliance had passed into history, Gresham began to prepare for a new and a better organization for the farmers. For sometime he thought over the best plan of launching the new organization, which was to be different from any which had gone before. The new organization must not only embrace the best principles of all that had gone before, but must be educative as well and in keeping with the onward march of the progressive twentieth century. The organization which Gresham had in mind was also co-operative in its nature. He finally decided to call the new organization The Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of America—a name which within itself insured the success of the new order. Having decided upon the name and the principles of the organization, believing that he was placing into being a farmer's organization, the principles of which if carried forward, as he believed they would be, would place the American farmer in his proper sphere—make a business man of him—he set about to find others who would use their time and means in launching the organization. The first one he approached on the subject was J. B. Morris.

Sitting on a log by a plank storehouse in the little town of Point, Rains County, Texas, Gresham first told Morris of the great organization which was to be, and asked Morris to join him, which the latter readily agreed to do. Gresham's plan was to enlist nine other farmers with him, thus forming a nucleus of the organization. Having enlisted Morris in the work, they set about to find eight others who would join them. This was no easy task, and required many days of hard work and much persuasion to find the eight who would join them. While admitting that it was now time to launch another farmers' organization, it was hard to find farmers who would go into a movement of the kind, as they thought it too great an undertaking. Finally, however, they enlisted the following:

T. W. Donaldson and T. J. Pound, of Point; and O. H. Rhodes, Jesse Adams, Lee Seamster, W. T. Cochran, J. S. Turner and W. S. Sisk, of Emory, Texas, all of Rains County. They organized with Lee Seamster, President; J. B. Morris, Vice-President; O. H. Rhodes, Secretary and Treasurer; and Newt. Gresham,

Organizer. These took out a charter August 2, 1902, from the State of Texas, for the purpose of organizing in Texas and elsewhere in the United States.

The charter gave to the Board the right to appoint organizers, not only for Texas, but for other States, and acting upon the prerogatives conferred by this charter, organizers were sent into Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, and Louisiana, where good and successful work was done.

The board of trustees, as they came to be called, had headquarters at Emory, Texas, from which point the work was pushed under the leadership of Newt. Gresham, who led the organizing force. For fifteen months, Gresham rode in the saddle calling the farmers of Texas to action. His faith, his courage, his great energy inspired confidence in others and he was soon able to gather around him as fine a set of consecrated workers as ever went forth to do battle for any cause.

The first local Union was organized by Gresham at Smyrna School House, in Rains County, September 2, 1902, with ten members. W. S. Sisk and J. S. Turner made speeches at the time. The second local Union was organized by W. T. Cochran on September 3. Soon several locals were formed in Rains County, and then the work spread to adjoining counties quite rapidly. Gresham enlisted such men as R. F. Duckworth, who was then farming in Hopkins County, Texas, and who shortly afterwards carried the work into Georgia; Dr. E. J. Cook, of Titus County, Texas, who carried the work into Alabama; J. S. Turner and R. L. Bertram, who carried the work into Arkansas; B. F. Earle, of Hunt County, who carried the work into South Carolina; G. W. Burgess, of Sabine County, who carried the work into Mississippi and Louisiana.

One of the chief reasons for the aggressiveness of Texas in pushing this work was the lack of profit on cotton. Texas, being a great empire within itself and capable of producing an enormous crop of cotton with little or no fertilizers, could make cotton cheaper than any other State. But with these cheap facilities for producing cotton, the cotton growers were annually losing money, and when Newt. Gresham called the farmers to action and inaugurated a movement for better prices, Texas led the movement. Other States into which organizers had gone joined heart and hand in the movement.

This lack of profit was one of the chief instruments in drawing into the Union the cotton growers of this and other States. True, there was nothing that the founders could point to as an accom-

plished fact that would lead the people to believe that the Union could control the price of cotton, but there was no lack of confidence. The people of Texas had been members of the Farmers' Wheel and the Farmers' Alliance. Both these organizations had looked to the increase in yield and not to the marketing of the crops. When the organizers went about telling the farmers that they could fix a just and equitable price upon their cotton and by mutual co-operation obtain that price, few really believed it. So strong was the desire for some movement of this kind that hundreds joined in the hope of bringing about a better order of things.

The Texas State Union was organized in Mineola, Texas. The convention was called to order on the morning of February 14, 1904. O. P. Pyle, then of Mineola, presided over the meeting. N. C. Murray was elected President; J. B. Morris, Vice-President; Newt. Gresham, Secretary-Treasurer; J. D. Montgomery, General Organizer; C. M. Compton, Lecturer; J. M. Mallett, Chaplain; F. W. Davis, Conductor; and R. L. Templeton, Door-keeper. The Executive Committee was as follows: O. P. Pyle, Chairman; A. M. Colwick, Secretary; John T. Garner, W. T. Loudermilk and Virgil Rodgers. Newt. Gresham and O. F. Dornblaser wrote the constitution.

This constitution, with some modifications and amendments, is the one now in force in the national government of the Union. The principles of this constitution remain unchanged.

The administration during the year put forward the movement for the holding of one bale of cotton out of five, and the slow marketing of the other four was provided for. It is claimed that this movement saved the cotton growers of the South more than two hundred millions of dollars. The same administration secured a reduction of twenty-five cents per bale on each bale of cotton shipped from common points within the State to Houston and Galveston. Farmers of Texas by their aggressiveness soon made Texas the best organized State in the Union. Later, a movement was begun to secure ten cents for cotton. When the price of cotton dropped so low early in November, 1904, the committee met in Greenville and decided to institute an effective cotton holding movement, naming as the minimum price ten cents per pound. In one night the committee spent fifty dollars in telegraphing to prominent farmers, to governors, to senators and others in the cotton States, asking that a meeting be held on November 17th, in all the counties of the South for the purpose of asking the farmers to withhold their cotton from the market. Meetings were held and cotton sold for ten cents a pound the following July.

STATE HEADQUARTERS MOVED.

A short time after the meeting in Mineola, in February, the headquarters of the general office was moved from Emory to Point. A few months later the office was moved to Greenville, and from Greenville to Dallas, and has since been moved from Dallas to Fort Worth.

On April 2, after the first State meeting, the executive committee met in Mineola, and provided for a business department. John T. Garner was put in charge of this department. In the fall of 1904, the executive committee created a fruit and truck department with John R. Rector in charge. The committee at the same time established a cotton department with F. W. Davis in charge.

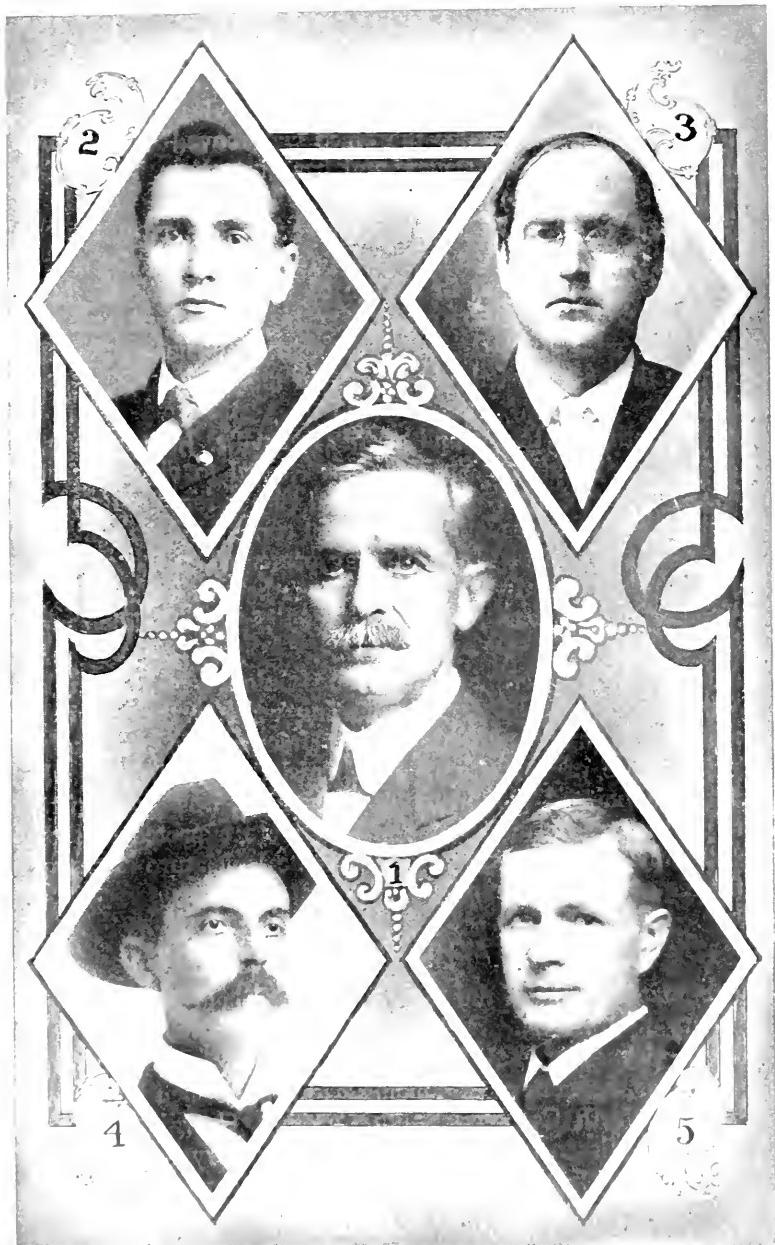
At a meeting of the committee in Greenville, June 4, 1904, A. P. Landers, of Sulphur Springs, was elected to visit the cotton mills in the various parts of the United States for the purpose of studying the conditions looking to direct trade with the mills. At this meeting President N. C. Murray presented to the committee his plan to withhold from the market one bale in five, which was adopted and which was the beginning of the cotton-holding movement.

A call meeting of the Texas State Union was held in Fort Worth in August, 1904. This meeting was for the purpose of devising ways and means by which the Union was to be brought to a higher state of perfection. The legislative committee, which had been appointed at the time of organizing, was given instructions as to the kind of legislation they were expected to secure, and several bills were passed by the State legislature in response to the request of this committee.

STATE MEETING.

The next meeting of the State Union was held in Fort Worth, February 14-16, 1905. President N. C. Murray was not present owing to sickness. E. A. Calvin presided over the session. During the year the work of organizing had been pushed in Alabama, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Tennessee, Indian Territory and Oklahoma. The number of local Unions in the State of Texas had increased from eleven hundred to nearly three thousand and the membership from thirty-five thousand to about one hundred thousand.

The work this year was carried on under the Texas State Union



ATTORNEYS AND PROMINENT WORKERS, GEORGIA DIVISION.

1. C. T. LAMSON, General Counsel National Union.
2. J. A. DRAKE, State Counsel.
3. G. M. DAVIS, Ex State Lecturer.
4. JOHN L. FULLWOOD, Promoter Cotton Certificate.
5. G. F. HUNNICUTT, Director Carmical Implement Company.

by right of a franchise purchased from the original ten, who held the franchise by virtue of the original charter.

At this convention it was suggested that a National Union be organized, so that all the States and Territories could have a voice in the government of the order. As it then was, Texas had one constitution and the States and Territories another. This condition of affairs did not seem to be best, and hence the suggestion to call a National meeting, in which all the other States were to be represented on equal footing with Texas.

The report of Newt Gresham, General Secretary, showed the number of Unions to be: Texas, 2,926; Indian Territory, 524; Oklahoma Territory, 135; Louisiana, 238; Georgia, 114; Missouri, 23; Tennessee, 23; Mississippi, 24; South Carolina, 16; North Carolina, 2; Alabama, 58; and Kentucky, 1. The total number of local Unions in the United States was 4,264, with a membership of 147,115.

The constitution included in the list of things upon which the membership needed assistance, the subject of fruit culture, truck growing, bee keeping, live stock, diversification and poultry raising. The executive committee had previously established many of these and the clauses added to the constitution by this convention was a recognition of the rights of the executive committee to establish co-operative enterprises.

N. C. Murray was re-elected President; E. A. Calvin, Vice-President. Newt. Gresham was re-elected Secretary and J. D. Montgomery General Organizer. W. A. Shaw, of Dallas, and W. D. Lewis, of Corn Hill, were elected members of the executive committee in place of John T. Garner and Virgil Rodgers. The time of the regular meeting was changed from February to August.

WACO MEETING.

The next meeting of the State Union was held in Waco, in August, 1905. Before this meeting there had been some dissatisfaction and it resulted in a State meeting that was a little stormy. However, the steam-roller subdued the storm and E. A. Calvin was elected President; J. A. Wheeler, Vice-President; B. F. Chapman, Secretary-Treasurer; D. J. Neill, Lecturer, and J. D. Montgomery, Organizer. An executive committee was elected as follows: F. W. Davis, J. R. Luce, M. A. Clifton, G. M. Garner and J. D. Jamison

In accordance with the suggestion made at Fort Worth, the executive committee of the State of Texas had called a meeting of

delegates from all States and Territories, where the Union had been organized, to meet at Texarkana, on September 23, 1905, for the purpose of organizing a National Union. On account of yellow fever, the meeting at Texarkana had to be postponed until December 5, 1905. The Waco convention elected delegates to the Texarkana meeting to be held in December.

DALLAS MEETING.

The next regular meeting was held in August, 1906, in Dallas. E. A. Calvin was re-elected President and Miss Nellie Horton was elected Treasurer, being the first and only woman ever elected by a State organization to this position. D. J. Neill was elected Lecturer and B. F. Chapman, Secretary. The executive committee elected at this meeting was composed of F. W. Davis, J. R. Luce, Peter Radford, J. E. Bond and W. T. Loudermilk.

FORT WORTH MEETING.

The next convention met in Fort Worth, Texas, August, 1907. This convention was characterized by a fraternal feeling, and was noted for the harmony displayed. The convention gave considerable time to the business side of the organization. The warehouse question was one of the most prominent before this convention. The State President, in a very strong address, outlined plans for the future progress of warehouse building in Texas. He said:

"Such will be, the cotton warehousing system towards which we, the cotton producers of America, are inevitably and swiftly being drifted by the current of events, which it is today our duty to control and direct. As we progress in our work of controlling this current of events by building a warehouse in each community, the units of this future system are being created. Each warehouse may be operated separately and apart from all others, and much good results; but as surely as men, the units of armies, co-operate for national aggression and defense, these isolated warehouses must as units of a great system co-operate for mutual aggression and defense. Individual soldiers, however patriotic and courageous, acting singly and alone, would be comparatively of small service to their country; the same soldiers, each co-operating with his fellows, confident of united action, would exert overwhelmingly increased efficiency. The warehouse of the future will be the local center about which all local cotton action and local cotton information will concentrate. Likewise it will be the local center from which all non-local action and non-local information will radiate. No other agency better adapted to such ends could be devised."

Much has been said in a general way of the good to result from holding cotton for fair prices and of the good to result from direct marketing to the spinner. We all agree that good must result from this sure evolution, now taking almost the form of revolution. The warehouse is our reliance; yet we know a mere building cannot bring about affirmative results, nor can men operating isolated warehouses hold cotton as intelligently as if acting in concert with all other warehouses. Out of the present business chaos a system will be evolved; if we should attempt to prevent it, we should fail. Some system, good or bad, is sure to come. It is our duty to so direct our activities that the future system will be for our good and that of the user of our cotton. The system must reach every cotton growing neighborhood, yet be centralized in some intelligent power, so guarded as to be of and for and by the people. We have seen that every neighborhood may be reached by the local warehouse, constituting the units of the system. The present rate of warehouse building will soon supply these units."

Texas early began the agitation of Union warehouses that may be owned and operated by Union members in the State.

In the election of officers to serve for the next year, D. J. Neill was elected President; J. P. Lane, Vice-President; C. Smith, Secretary-Treasurer and B. F. Chapman, Lecturer. W. T. Loudermilk, Peter Radford, J. E. Montgomery, J. C. Albritton and H. Laas were elected members of the executive committee.

The 1908 convention met in the city of Fort Worth, in August. This convention was characterized by harmony and good will. The membership of Texas was loyally supporting a majority of the plans outlined by the various conventions and adopted as a part of the policies of the State Union.

In the election of officers D. J. Neill, of Fort Worth, was re-elected President; J. P. Lane, of Gallatin, Vice-President; C. Smith, of Fort Worth, Secretary-Treasurer; Joe E. Edmonson, of Fort Worth, Organizer; J. W. Smith, of Belton, Chaplain; J. E. Been, of Burleson, Conductor, and W. W. Scott, of Dodd City, Doorkeeper. An executive committee composed of J. E. Montgomery, Skidmore; J. C. Albritton, Snyder; H. Laas, Brookshire; J. L. McConkey, Wichita Falls, and J. A. Wheeler, Moody, were elected.

OKLAHOMA.

The Union was early planted in the Territories of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. Here in this new section the work spread rapidly. At the time of the Texas State meeting at Fort Worth, February, 1905, there were 839 local Unions in Oklahoma

and the Indian Territory, with a total membership of 29,365. Neither of these Territories had been organized into State Union divisions when the Fort Worth convention met. Delegates were present at Fort Worth and asked for the privilege of being organized into a State Union. This was done during the year, the Territories being organized under the general name of Indiana. S. O. Daws, who had been prominent in Alliance days and a leader in the territorial work of the Union, was elected first President of the new State Union.

The Union in Oklahoma and the Indian Territory was known by the general name of Indiana, and continued to be known as such for sometime, but the question of admitting the Territories into the Union by Congress, was a live one and created much discussion and considerable strife. Some wanted two States and some wanted one. Congress finally settled the disputed question by admitting both Oklahoma and the Indian Territory as one State. It was while this discussion was going on that the Farmers' Union divided and the Indian Territory Union was formed. S. O. Daws was President of the Indiana Union when this division took place.

The State Union was organized shortly after the adjournment of the Texas convention held at Fort Worth, and S. O. Daws, who had been a persistant worker in the Union movement, was elected President of the Indiana State Union.

The first meeting after organizing the Indiana Union, was held at Tishomingo, Indian Territory, July 18-21, 1905. There were 109 delegates in attendance upon this convention besides many visitors. Statistics, the farmers' label on all goods produced by Union members, legislation, arbitration and education were some of the things discussed by this convention.

The following officers were elected: S. O. Daws, President; J. P. Conners, Vice-President; J. S. Moore, Secretary-Treasurer; Green B. Patterson, Business Agent; A. J. Carter, Organizer; P. C. Estes, Chaplain; J. H. Keltner, Conductor and D. A. Nix, Doorkeeper. The executive committee was composed of A. F. Ross, W. H. Lancaster, R. J. Ward, Campbell Russell, and J. W. Harrison.

The next convention was held at Shawnee, August 21-25, 1906. J. A. West was elected President; E. E. Duffey, Vice-President; B. C. Hanson, Secretary-Treasurer; C. C. Lee, Chaplain; C. E. Sullivan, Conductor; J. D. Irvin, Doorkeeper and J. W. Houchin, W. J. Clark, M. B. Brown, O. H. Mathews and J. A. Parkinson were elected members of the executive committee.

The convention of 1907 was held at Shawnee, August 22-23. Upon the subject of warehouses, President West, in his annual address before the convention, said: "Perhaps no feature of industrial organization has been so exhaustively discussed as that of co-operative warehouses. The primary principles of the Union of farmers was the control of the markets. The objects to be attained were profitable prices and stable markets. Our markets have been completely in the hands of cotton exchanges, institutions which have manipulated our markets up and down, regardless of supply and demand. These institutions have destroyed the stability of the markets for all farm products, impoverished the farmer and jeopardized the business interests of the entire country.

"We have adopted definite plans in the hope of destroying the mighty and tyrannical power of the Cotton Exchange. Beginning with the plan of locally bulking, which was soon followed by holding one-fourth or one-fifth of the cotton crop, and the establishment of a minimum price; but by this means you remember we succeeded in securing only partial co-operation. But through the warehouse system we can revolutionize the present system and enthron the farmer as absolute master in fixing the price upon his own products. The warehouse is now recognized as an indispensable addenda in stable and profitable marketing. We have already in co-operation in the two territories quite a number, and reports from all over the State indicate that the first season's operation has been quite a success. I do not know how many have been built, or how many are now under construction, but the Farmers' Union in greater Oklahoma should have warehouse storage for at least one-fourth of her cotton production. I want to impress upon this convention the great, and, as I see it, paramount, importance of constructing warehouses, at least in every central cotton market in every county in the State. Do not let us falter, but let us push the work until we have accomplished all we started out to do."

The election of officers to serve for the ensuing year resulted as follows: J. A. West, President; J. P. Connors, Vice-President; J. S. Murray, Secretary-Treasurer; E. A. Griffin, of Crescent, Organizer; C. C. Lee, Chaplain; J. W. Scott, Doorkeeper, and Thomas Roach, Conductor. The Executive Committee elected at this meeting was J. Y. Callahan, M. B. Brown, W. G. Vandiver, O. H. Matthews and T. M. Jeffords.

The convention of 1908 was held at Shawnee, August 18-22. The Indiana and the Indian Territory Unions had been organized the year before into the Oklahoma State Union, and the bit-

terness and strife that had existed between the membership of the two rival State Unions was allayed.

William Garrison was elected President; F. R. Smith, Vice-President; C. E. Hook, Secretary-Treasurer; W. J. Hill, Chaplain; W. J. Crawford, Organizer; Mr. Scott, Doorkeeper; Tom Roach, Conductor, and W. F. Belden, E. M. Smoot, B. F. Douglas, W. H. A. Harrison, and Henry Pebworth, members of the Executive Committee.

Oklahoma has been through the fire often, but now bids fair to make great headway in Union affairs. The reorganization of the two territorial sections into one Union has eliminated much of the bitterness that existed in former times in the organization.

INDIAN TERRITORY UNION.

The Indian Territory Union was organized as a separate division in 1906 and continued for about a year in the capacity of a State Union. A. J. Malcolm was President of this Union and J. S. Murray Secretary-Treasurer. When in 1907 Indiana and the Indian Territory were again merged into one organization, the two State Unions were rechartered under one name—Oklahoma. A new constitution and by-laws were adopted for the government of the new State organization. J. A. West, formerly President of the Indiana Union, was elected President of the new State organization, and J. S. Murray, who was Secretary of the Indian Territory Union, was elected Secretary of Oklahoma, thus making the Union complete.

ARKANSAS.

The first local Union in Arkansas was organized by J. K. Huffman at Spring Hill, September 30, 1903. W. T. Bowden was elected President of this local, and J. C. Huckabee, Secretary-Treasurer. At first the local Unions of Arkansas were under the control and direction of the original Board of Ten and continued under their control up to the time when the franchise was sold to the Texas State Union. From this time till the Texarkana meeting, 1905, Arkansas was governed by the Texas State Union.

J. S. Turner, one of the original ten, was the first State Organizer of Arkansas. His headquarters were at Hope, in Hempstead County, near where the first local Union was organized. Acting upon the call of Turner, delegates from many counties met at Hot Springs, April 27-28, 1905, and organized the State Union. J. T. Batton, of Tuckerman, was elected President; C. M. Norwood, of Stamps, Vice-president; Ben L. Griffin, of Nashville,

Secretary-Treasurer; G. I. Van Dike, of Magness, Doorkeeper; J. A. Blackford, of Jonesboro, Conductor; W. B. Mason, of Guy, Chaplain. The Executive Committeemen were J. N. Bulger, of Hope; J. D. Oliphant, of Agnes; J. M. Glass, of Swifton; N. C. Milner, of McNeil, and L. A. Reece, of Shover Springs. This convention fixed the time for the holding of subsequent conventions which were to be held on the first Tuesdays in August. The report of the delegates at this convention showed Union matters in Arkansas to be in a healthy condition. There was no end of enthusiasm manifested, and this wave of enthusiasm diffused itself over the state after the adjournment of the convention. The Secretray-Treasurer's office was moved to Conway, being more nearly the center of the state.

The first regular annual meeting of the State Union after being organized, met in Little Rock, August 1-4, 1905. There were present 152 delegates, representing 57 counties. The report of the Secretary-Treasurer showed that there had been thirteen hundred and thirty-eight local Unions chartered since the organization of the first local, September 30, 1903, and that fifty-two charters had been issued to County Unions. As a mark of appreciation for the thorough manner in which they had conducted the affairs of their respective offices, the Union re-elected President Batton and Secretary-Treasurer Griffin. Other officers elected were A. B. Walker, of Nixon, Vice-President; J. W. Comer, Chaplain; John H. Keith, Doorkeeper; J. A. Blackford, of Jonesboro, Conductor. R. H. McCulloch, A. R. Austin, J. C. Palmer, O. P. Nixon, and L. A. Reece, were elected members of the Executive Committee.

Owing to ill health which kept him from discharging the duties of his office, President Batton resigned on February 17, 1906; H. B. Walker, Vice-President, also resigned on the same date. The Executive Committee elected D. P. Tunstall, of Salem, to succeed Batton, and J. C. Griswood to succeed Walker.

The second annual convention met in Little Rock, August 7, 1906. Vice-President Griswood was absent and S. M. Blaylock was appointed in his stead. Sixty-seven counties were represented by delegates in this second convention. The report of the Executive Committee called attention to the fact that previous to the time of the first state organization that there had been four organizing districts with a supervisor for each; that under this arrangement there had been unprecedented growth, and now after the expiration of a year they felt that it would be wise to divide the state into two lecture districts. The reason they gave for this

recommendation was that there was a demand for information that could be given in no other way.

A grave problem confronting the convention was the question of organizing the negro. Some of the organizers had been organizing bodies of the Colored Progressive Farmers' Union. This was deemed a reflection upon the good name of the Union and the commission of organizers, who had thus organized negro Unions, was revoked. During the year, the National Board of Directors borrowed a thousand dollars at six per cent interest from the Arkansas Executive Committee. This note was secured by the endorsement of O. P. Pyle, W. S. Miller, Campbell Russell, E. J. Cook, I. N. McCollister, and Charles S. Barrett.

J. B. Lewis, of Jonesboro, was elected President; J. T. M. Holt, Vice-President; Ben L. Griffin, Secretary-Treasurer; J. E. Armstrong, Chaplain; John A. Blackford, Conductor; John H. Keith, Doorkeeper. R. H. McCulloch, A. R. Austin, O. P. Nixon, J. C. Palmer, and A. J. Craig, composed the Executive Committee; James I. Ellis was appointed State Business Agent, and J. W. Librand, J. H. Roten, and J. B. Doyle were elected members of the legislative committee.

The third convention was held in Conway, August 6, 7, 8, 1907. The year passed had been a prosperous one and harmony prevailed throughout the state. The President in his address complimented the Union upon the few complaints which had come into his office. The Union had some trouble with outsiders, particularly with political schemers.

The convention went on record as opposed to working convicts in the production of cotton, which came into competition with free labor. From the Secretary's report the increase in Local Unions for the year was 718, giving Arkansas a total number of 2,540; 14,000 new members had been added during the year, bringing the total membership up to 78,085.

J. B. Lewis was re-elected President and Ben L. Griffin, was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer. Other officers elected were: W. T. Ham, of Van Buren, Vice-President; W. W. Reed, of Pocahontas, Chaplain; J. P. Murray, Conductor; John F. McCuiston, of Elmo, Doorkeeper. All members of the Executive Committee were re-elected except O. P. Nixon, who was succeeded by J. D. Hoyle. W. A. Cole, of Alma, was appointed State Business Agent and established his headquarters at Little Rock. R. H. McCulloch, National Secretary, was elected Chairman of the State Executive Committee.

The fourth state meeting of the Arkansas State Union was held in the city of Little Rock, August 4, 5, 6, 7, 1908. Things had not been so harmonious in the State during the year, politics, unfortunately, had played its part in breeding trouble.

The report of Secretary-Treasurer Griffin showed a balance on hand in the treasury of \$3,510.32, after all expenses for the current year had been met. The cost of maintaining lectures, which had been considerable, and the expenses of a cotton school were additional drafts upon the treasury that it had not been called upon to meet the year before.

John Bowers, Sr., of Lonoke County, was elected President; John N. Jones, of Pocahontas, Vice-President; M. F. Dickinson, of Green County, Secretary-Treasurer; W. A. Lewis, of Lonoke County, Chaplain; John F. McCuiston, Doorkeeper; and L. F. Martin, Conductor. L. M. Burg, W. W. Brodnax, W. D. Walker, J. E. Rogers, and R. H. McCulloch were elected members of the Executive Committee. J. E. Rogers and R. H. McCulloch were formerly members of this committee and were re-elected. John Bowers, Sr., and M. F. Dickinson were elected delegates at large to the National Convention; John A. Blackford was elected from the first district; G. A. Billingsly from the second district; Miss M. M. Merritt from the third district; W. I. Beck from the fourth district; A. A. Scott from the fifth district; W. C. Henderson from the sixth district, and W. F. Tate from the seventh district.

The question of the negro Union was up for discussion, and a special committee was appointed to make recommendations. These recommendations were in the form of a resolution as follows:

"Whereas, it is desirable that the F. E. & C. U. of A. should control as large a per cent. of the cotton crop as possible through the warehouses, to the end that it may be kept off the market until we can get a satisfactory price; and whereas, the Colored Farmers' Progressive and Educational Union of America have asked this body to submit some plan by which they might co-operate with us in the matter of marketing cotton; therefore,

"Be it resolved by the State Union of Arkansas, That we invite them to bring all the cotton they can control to be weighed, handled and marketed, just as we do that of our own members, guaranteeing them fair and just treatment; giving them the advantages of any plans we may devise for the financing of distressed cotton, and aiding them in procuring money on same, in case conditions demand it, upon the same conditions at others."

CHAPTER XX.

STATE ORGANIZATION—LOUISIANA, GEORGIA, ALABAMA.

LOUISIANA.

THE first organization of the Farmers' Union in the State of Louisiana was at Smyrna, in De Soto Parish. This local was organized by I. J. Burgess, January 19, 1903. Eighteen members joined at the time. J. H. Franklin, of De Soto Parish, was elected President of this local Union, and J. J. Poag, Secretary. Grand Cane, in De Soto Parish, soon became the center of activity in the work of organizing the Farmers' Union, and the influence set to work in this center reached out and affected other sections.

Almost from the day when the Union was introduced into Louisiana the work became prominent, and such men as J. W. Boyett, Jr., L. N. Holmes, and J. E. Bullard, became prominently identified with the movement, and by their aid and assistance helped to make the Union a success in their state. The order grew very rapidly in the different parishes throughout Louisiana. Organizers went into every nook and corner of the state, calling the farmers to action in behalf of the Farmers' Union.

April 4, 1905, delegates met and formed the first State Union. L. N. Holmes was the first State President; J. E. Bullard, first Vice-President; J. W. Boyett, Jr., first Secretary-Treasurer; J. A. Ambrose, Chaplain; Thomas McCain, Doorkeeper; A. B. Cole, Conductor. L. N. Holmes served two years as President, having been re-elected at the second convention. J. W. Boyett, Jr., served three years as Secretary-Treasurer.

At the third convention J. E. Bullard was elected President, and C. T. Baird Vice-President. During this year considerable progress was made and many new Unions were organized. The membership of the Union made persistent demands for the minimum price of cotton, and by their aid rendered valuable assistance in their efforts to secure the same.

The convention which met in 1908 re-elected J. E. Bullard President, and elected J. N. DeLoach Secretary-Treasurer.

The present state officers are: J. E. Bullard, President; R. Lee Mills, Opelousa, Vice-President; J. N. De Loach, Winnfield, Secretary-Treasurer; J. A. Ambrose, Ruston, Chaplain; J. W. Boyett, Jr., Winfield, State Lecturer; S. B. David, Baton Rouge, Conductor, and George W. Smith Doorkeeper.

The Union in Louisiana has caught the attention of the governor and others in high official positions, and they are offering to lend every assistance possible to aid the farmers in maintaining profitable prices for their farm produce. Recently, at New Orleans, Governor Sanders made a proposition to appropriate money from the State Treasury, by the advice and consent of the legislature, for the building of a mammoth warehouse in New Orleans. This warehouse when built will be largely in the hands of the Farmers' Union and practically under their control. New Orleans and Memphis each will have giant warehouses, over which the Union exercises controlling influences.

Each succeeding state convention in Louisiana has moved a mile farther on in the onward march of progress in Union matters in the state. Year by year a better hold has been obtained upon the farmers, and a fuller control of matters has been the result. Louisiana is now one of the leading states and by the aid and assistance of the officers and members, will be at no distant day one of the foremost in the United States.

At the convention held at Baton Rouge, July 31, 1906, the warehouse question was a live one in which a majority of the one hundred and thirty-five delegates representing thirty-five parishes took active part. The Board of Directors of the Farmers' Union of the Central Warehouse Company, consisting of A. P. Collins, N. A. Culberson, R. B. Kennedy, and J. W. Boyett, Jr., reported that they had organized a central company capitalized at \$25,000, and had built at Winnfield an iron sheeted warehouse 100 by 150 feet. The stock of this warehouse, as shown by the 1907 report, was held by the membership in eighteen parishes of the State.

The state convention of 1908, which met in Winnfield, July 20, found the Union in good working shape throughout the various parishes. The Executive Committee found the people clamoring for lecturers in every section of the state. This clamor grew out of a desire for information about Union matters. The subject of crop diversification received considerable attention at this convention, and each local Union was urged to take up the matter



STATE OFFICIALS, ALABAMA DIVISION.

1. J. W. KELSON, Vice President.
2. J. C. HICKS, Member State Executive Committee.
3. J. P. BARGER, Member State Executive Committee.
4. BEN L. HILL, Member State Executive Committee.
5. ROBERT F. ORR, Member State Executive Committee.

and give it thorough investigation. There are thirty-five parish Unions (1908) thoroughly organized, and a number partially so.

The present Executive Committee: I. N. McCollister, C. R. Kelly, N. A. Culberson, W. S. Jones, and J. M. Davis, constitute an able and efficient advisory board, which exercises supervision over Union matters in the state. This board has at its head I. N. McCollister, who is alive to the interests of the Union not only in his state but throughout the entire jurisdiction.

Some data gotten from the retiring Secretary-Treasurer's report (1908) is here inserted for the purpose of conveying an idea of the conditions of Union matters throughout the state. J. W. Boyett, Jr., says "I wish to say that while I shall not be able to make as encouraging a report as I did one year ago, yet I feel that you are aware of the fact that we have passed through one of the greatest panics that has ever been known, followed as it was by cyclones, overflows and general demoralization of all lines of industry; notwithstanding all this, our organization is in good shape. We have as many locals in good standing at present as at any time since our State organization. It is true nearly all locals have lost a few members, but the fact is, they, as a rule, have been benefitted thereby, inasmuch as they have only been trimmed of the dead branches, and notwithstanding the many reverses that have prevailed, our growth has been very encouraging. There have been ninety-three locals organized, making a total of seven hundred and sixty locals to date in the State, and while a number of locals have never remitted to the State since they were organized, there are now some six hundred locals in good standing. We have thirty-five parish organizations with several others partially organized."

The 1908 convention took cognizance of the local organizations in the State. Upon examination it was found that there were 61,000 homes owned free; 12,000 mortgages and 181,000 rented ones. These figures were taken by the committee from the census report of the United States government.

GEORGIA.

In the fall of 1903, R. E. Duckworth, a commissioned organizer of the Farmers' Union, came into Georgia to begin the work of organizing. On December 14, 1903, the first local Union was organized at Sand Town School House, Troup County, Georgia. Fourteen members were initiated by Organizer Duckworth. Other Unions were soon organized, and the work was prosecuted

in Troup, Meriwether, Upson, Coweta, Polk, Forsyth, and Gwinnett.

The first State Union was organized in May, 1905, at Thomasston, Upson County, Georgia. C. S. Barrett, of Atwater, Upson County, was elected State President; W. P. Quinby, of Cartersville, Bartow County, Vice-President, and R. F. Duckworth, of Thomasville, Upson County, Secretary-Treasurer.

The convention adopted a constitution and by-laws and elected an executive committee consisting of S. S. Barrett, of Pike County; J. H. Hoyle, of Upson County; S. J. Smith, of Forsyth County; W. T. Hogue, of Paulding County, and J. D. Anderson, of Cherokee County. C. L. Gowin was elected the first State organizer, but he soon resigned. Robert L. Barron, of Upson County, was elected State Lecturer, and continued in the office until January 1, 1907, when he resigned.

The strength and success of Unionism in Georgia may be said to date its beginning from the first State meeting. Up to that time there had been no central head. Duckworth, representing the Texas State Union, had carried on the work as a representative of Texas. Several counties had been organized, and each county seemed to be a separate and distinct Union. This convention brought together the various county organizations and made the Union a power in Georgia.

The convention met at a time when there was considerable outside opposition to the farmers organizing. The Cotton Growers Association had come into existence to meet an emergency, and many of the farmers who belonged to the association did not take any too kindly to the Farmers Union. The newly elected officers recognized that they had before them a task. Some of the locals that had been organized became lukewarm, and others ceased to meet altogether. It was a time of anxiety, but the delegates returned to their homes enthused with the principles of the order and immediately set to work to communicate that enthusiasm to those who did not go.

SECOND CONVENTION.

The second convention of the State Union met in the State capitol in Atlanta, in the latter part of May, 1906. C. S. Barrett was re-elected State President; W. P. Quinby, of Bartow County, Vice-President; J. L. Barron, Secretary-Treasurer, R. F. Duckworth having been elected National President, and R. L. Barron, Lecturer. At this meeting, John L. Lee, of DeKalb County, who

had some months before been appointed Local Organizer, was elected State Organizer. J. H. Hoyle, S. J. Smith, W. T. Hogue, and J. D. Anderson, were re-elected members of the State Executive Committee. W. V. Martin, of Tift County, was also elected a member of the executive committee.

There was a very noticeable increase in the attendance of delegates at this convention. These delegates came from almost every section of the State and represented fully 40 per cent of all the counties in the State.

The officers were very much gratified by the growth of the Union during the year that had just past. They had laid the foundation for the future success of the order.

STATE HEADQUARTERS.

State headquarters for the Georgia division were fixed upon at Atwater, this being the home of the State President. State headquarters had been there during the previous year and was so officially recognized. An old two-story frame building was secured and in the upper story of the building were the offices of the State officials. These officials in addition to carrying on the clerical work, made frequent journeys to the county organizations throughout the State and were themselves leaders in the organizing movement. Atwater is a cross-roads village in Upson County, seven miles from the railroad, and remained the headquarters of the State Union until January 1, 1907. C. S. Barrett was elected National President of the Farmers Union at the Texarkana meeting held in September, 1906, and resigned as State President. R. F. Duckworth was elected by the executive committee to serve out Barrett's time. When the executive committee met January 1, 1907, Robt. L. Barron, State Lecturer, resigned, and G. M. Davis, of Floyd County, was elected in his place. State headquarters were moved from Atwater, to Barnesville, a thriving and prosperous town on the Central of Georgia Railroad, sixty-three miles from Atlanta. The mayor and city council at Barnesville gave free of rent offices, water and lights as an inducement to secure the removal of State headquarters to their town. Accordingly, on the first day of January, Barnesville became the headquarters of the Georgia division.

THIRD CONVENTION.

The third convention of the Georgia division of the Farmers' Union met in Atlanta, Ga., July 23, 24 and 25. Delegates from

sixty-three organized counties were present when the roll was called. R. F. Duckworth, State President, called the meeting to order. Governor Hoke Smith of Georgia, and A. M. Soule, dean of the Agricultural College, addressed the convention.

The address of R. F. Duckworth was an able one, giving a brief history of the Union from its beginning, January, 1904, to the convention. Mr. Duckworth in his address before the convention said: "Many of the old Alliance leaders joined the Southern Cotton Association, and thinking it was the thing, proceeded to discourage the Farmers' Union by either speaking slightingly of it, or ignoring it altogether. We tried to get some of them to make speeches, but failed. The first men of State reputation that we were able to interest were Dr. Hunnicutt and Hon. J. A. Bodenhammer. These gentlemen were running newspapers, and through their columns they welcomed us to Georgia. Mr. Bodenhammer continued to aid us through the columns of his paper; Dr. Hunnicutt spoke at our first big rally at Thunder, Georgia, September, 1904. The public press was slow to give our meetings any notice. The first of the "big" dailies to show us favors was the Atlanta Constitution. At first we dodged its reports because of its reputation of being the organ of the corporations. This question was discussed at our annual convention one year ago, and it was agreed to let any paper help that would. The Atlanta Georgian was the next to fall in line, and the fairness with which these two papers have treated us is greatly appreciated by our membership. They helped when help was needed. There are other dailies that could have helped us."

The report of the State organizer, J. L. Lee, showed that the membership had well nigh doubled itself since the last meeting. State Secretary J. L. Barron's books showed a surplus of \$2,490.65 in the treasury with all obligations met. At the convention in 1906 the Union was in debt, and some of its members had doubts as to its being able to meet its running expenses and pay up its debts, but all these doubts were dispelled by the report. The success of the Union during the year past was a matter of gratification to all.

The State business agent's department had been added as a part of the Union policy by order of the executive committee. J. G. Eubanks, of Polk County, a farmer and an experienced business man, had been placed in charge of this department, and under his management the business department was thriving. The membership in every section of the State was turning to this department

with a view of following out the principle of assisting each other in buying and selling.

D. A. Carmichael, of Fairburn, appeared before this convention and made a proposition to sell to the Union an implement company of which he was owner. A committee was appointed to investigate the proposition. Upon the favorable report of this committee, a movement was set on foot to organize a joint stock company composed of Union members only. The company was organized with a capital stock of \$50,000, and is now in full operation at Union City. It was also decided to establish a fertilizer plant.

This convention recognized in a very prominent manner the efforts to secure better educational facilities for the farmer boys and girls of the State. The establishment of eleven agricultural schools in which the Union had taken a prominent part was indorsed. A committee on cotton schools consisting of R. T. Nesbit, W. H. Thompson, R. F. Smith, J. E. Beverly, and J. C. Watkins, was appointed. The purpose of these schools is to teach cotton grading, so that the farmer may know the value of his own product.

W. C. Bryan, of Coffee County, offered a resolution indorsing the establishment of a sub-experiment station in South Georgia. This resolution called upon the membership to use their influence, as far as legitimate and honorable, in having this station established near the Eleventh District Agricultural College, in Coffee County. The resolution was referred to a committee, of which Paul Lindsay, of DeKalb, was chairman, and upon which a favorable report was made.

Mrs. W. H. Felton, one of Georgia's most notable women and able writers, was invited to address this convention.

This gathering took a long step forward in behalf of the country schools. A standing committee was appointed to make a thorough investigation of the needs of the country districts and to report on the same at the next annual convention. Dr. William Bradford, of Cedartown, Polk County, and for a number of years a member of the board of education of his county, was the chairman. W. M. McGahee, T. L. Hawkins, J. M. Mayfield, and W. D. J. Sumner, were appointed members of the same committee. This committee, by virtue of a resolution, became a part of the convention, and was to be recognized on the same footing as delegates at the next State convention.

Delegates to the International Convention of the Cotton Growers and Spinners to be held in Atlanta, in October, were elected. R. F. Duckworth, of Barnesville, was chosen delegate at large; J.

T. Dickey, of the Second Congressional District; T. R. Hendricks, of the Third; S. E. Leigh, of the Fourth; W. L. Peek, of the Fifth; J. H. Hoyle, of the Sixth; William Bradford, of the Seventh; A. H. Smith, of the Eighth; J. N. Twitty, of the Ninth; A. H. Sturgis, of the Tenth, and W. C. Bryan, of the Eleventh, were elected to represent the Farmers' Union in this congress.

The convention re-elected all of the former officials. R. F. Duckworth was elected President; W. P. Quinby, Vice-President; J. L. Barron, Secretary-Treasurer; J. L. Lee, Organizer; G. M. Davis, State Lecturer; J. C. Venerable, of Gwinnett County, Chaplain; T. N. Bazemore, Taylor County, Conductor, and J. W. Burns, Doorkeeper. J. L. Lee, of DeKalb; Z. R. Taylor, of Dodge, and J. M. Hart, of Clayton, were elected Delegates to the National Convention.

One of the things uppermost in the minds of the officers and delegates was the selection of a place for the permanent home of the Union. An offer by D. A. Carmichael to furnish offices free of rent in a commodious two-story brick building to be erected seventeen miles from Atlanta on the A. & W. P. and A. B. & A. railroads, where a town could be laid out, was made. The offer was accepted. Union City was the name given to the proposed town. The site of the town lay partly in the woods and the fields of Campbell County. A little church and one or two farm houses were all that could be seen of the town. A writer who visited the place about this time said: "It appears to be a splendid place for a picnic." Office buildings were begun, and by January 1, the Georgia division moved into its new headquarters.

The town is barely eleven months old, and yet no town started in the same way can equal Union City. It has the largest single cylinder printing press in the South, an acidulating plant for manufacturing fertilizer, an implement company that manufactures all kinds of farm implements, and other industries. It is on the line of two railroads that give it an outlet to every section of the country, and here will remain the home of the Farmers' Union in Georgia.

FOURTH CONVENTION.

The fourth annual convention of the Farmers' Union was held in the Auditorium at Macon, Georgia, July 28-30, 1908. State President R. F. Duckworth, called the meeting to order, and Harry Burns, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, of Macon, welcomed the convention to the central city in an impressive

speech. W. A. Morris, president of the Alabama Union, and S. F. Parrott, editor of the Union Sun, of South Carolina, made addresses.

The State convention, which had met in Atlanta the year previous, instructed the State officials to establish four lines of co-operation; an implement factory, an acidulating plant, a produce exchange, and a cotton company.

There was a marked increase in the number of organized counties sending delegates over that of the previous year. The secretary's books showed that there were 135 organized counties out of 147 in the State. Of these 124 were represented by delegates. The president appointed committees on good roads, on taxation, on farm implements, on co-operation, on warehousing and marketing cotton, on legislation, on fertilizers, and on farm produce. The members of these several committees were selected from among the delegates present and represented every section of the State.

On January before the meeting of this convention, J. L. Barron, of Upson County, who had very efficiently served as secretary-treasurer, resigned to accept the office of secretary-treasurer of the Union Phosphate Company of Georgia, and J. T. McDaniel, of Rockdale, was elected to succeed him.

Col. W. S. Harris, of Savannah, fraternal delegate from the Georgia Federation of Labor, was received as such. A resolution requesting the president of the Georgia Division of the Farmers' Union to return the greetings in person at the next annual meeting of the Georgia Federation of Labor, was offered and carried. The committee on the good of the order made a report in which many good recommendations were made. The report is as follows:

"First—By electing as your leaders only diligent men who are alive to the good of the order.

"Second—Encouraging women to join.

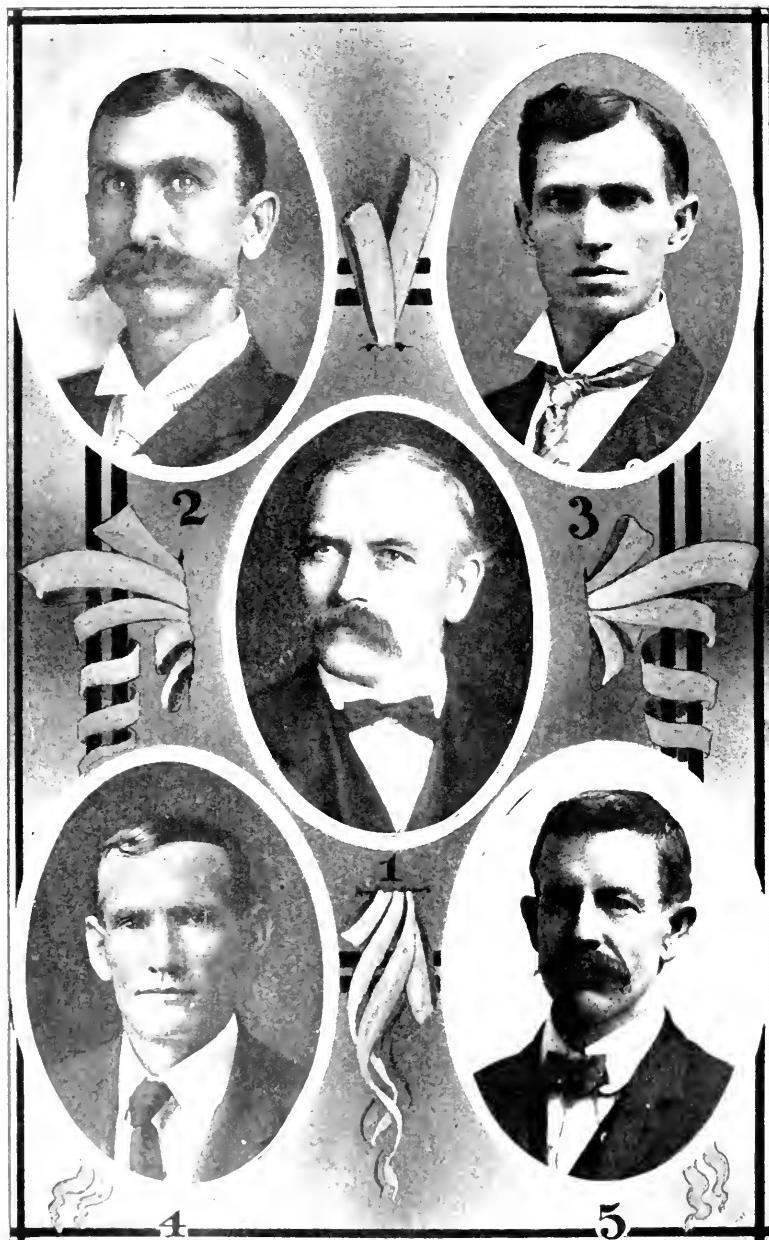
"Third—Discuss such questions as will stimulate the reading of good literature and agricultural papers as well as political writings.

"Fourth—Introduce social entertainments.

"Fifth—Inaugurate a system of exchange of agricultural products, improved seed, stock, etc., among the Locals, County and State membership.

"Sixth—Organize improvement clubs, schools, good roads, farms and homes.

"Seventh—Give prizes on the garden and field products; hold local fairs."



STATE OFFICIALS AND EX STATE OFFICIALS, ALABAMA DIVISION

1. T. F. JOHNSON, State Secretary-Treasurer.

2. J. M. PEARSON, Ex Vice President.

3. T. E. PENIGAR, Ex State Lecturer. 4. O. P. FORD, State Lecturer.

5. P. F. PARKER, Ex State Business Agent.

This same committee of which W. F. McDaniel was chairman, included in their report recommendations as follows:

"First—EDUCATION. Instill life into the Local.

"Second—A Legislative Committee should be selected from each Local, County and State, to keep in touch with the National Legislative Committee in order to bring before the people the question of good government.

"First—CO-OPERATION. We heartily endorse the co-operative enterprises now in operation—the Implement Co., Phosphate Co., and Warehouses. We recommend that the membership complete their system of warehouses, and at once co-operate with the Cotton Company for the purpose of moving the present crop. We urge the membership to support these institutions and subscribe stock to their ability.

"Second—In order to encourage other labor organizations, the members of the Farmers' Union should buy, when possible, only the goods that are tagged with the Union Label.

"First—GOVERNMENT. We recommend that this Convention elect a Tribunal Committee, to which all differences arising between the State Officers shall be referred for adjustment. This Committee to settle all such differences and from it there shall be no appeal.

"Amendment One—The Tribunal Committee shall consist of one man from each Congressional District, elected by the delegates from that district.

"Amendment Two—There shall be appointed at each State Convention, a Committee on Farming. This committee shall consist of one man from each Congressional District, and shall also be a correspondent to the agricultural page of the Union News."

The convention declared in emphatic terms in favor of better schools and reiterated its declaration relative to the district agricultural schools. The following committee on agriculture was appointed:

First district, G. F. Emmitt, Statesboro, Ga.; Second district, A. R. Dasher, Camilla, Ga.; Third district, F. D. Wimberly, Cochran, Ga.; Fifth district, L. W. Jarman, Porterdale, Ga.; Seventh district, W. L. Stallings, Kingston, Ga.; Eighth district, O. J. Richardson, Rutledge, Ga.; Ninth district, S. J. Smith, Gainesville, Ga.; Tenth district, Lawson E. Brown, Sandersville, Ga.; Eleventh district, A. H. Odom, Jesup, Ga.

R. F. Duckworth was re-elected President; W. P. Quinby, Vice-President; J. T. McDaniel, Secretary-Treasurer; J. L. Lee,

Organizer; J. C. Venerable, Chaplain; T. N. Bazemore, Conductor. J. E. Hall, of Berrien, was elected Doorkeeper to succeed J. W. Burns, who declined re-election. All the former members of the executive committee were re-elected. G. M. Davis having resigned as State Lecturer in November, no one was elected to fill his place. Miss Jimmie Doster, of Union City; Hon. J. Pope Brown, of Pulaski County; T. L. Hawkins, of Washington County; B. J. Wooten, of Clayton County; Yancey Carter, of Hart County, and M. L. Day, of Berrien County, were elected delegates to the National Convention which met in Fort Worth, Texas, in September.

On October 10, 1908, R. F. Duckworth resigned as State President, and John L. Lee, of Stone Mountain, DeKalb County, was elected to serve out his unexpired term.

ALABAMA.

Not long after the Union had been planted in the mother State of Texas, an organizer found his way into the goodly State of Alabama. This State was ripe for a movement of the kind and the people felt the need for a farmers' organization. Almost every county and community seemed to be ready to embark in the movement.

Alabama had been prominent in Alliance affairs. The Alliance leaders of the State were among the foremost in political matters. The first sub-Alliance of Alabama was organized by Newt Gresham, of Texas, who in 1902 became the founder of the Farmers' Union.

The first local Farmers' Union was organized in the eastern part of the State by an organizer whose name has been lost. The first effective work began in Lamar County, the home of W. A. Morris, now President of the State Union. E. J. Cook, afterwards Secretary-Treasurer of the Alabama State Union, was the one who went into Lamar County and began organizing. The Lamar County Union was organized October 7, 1904. Wilson was elected President of the Lamar County Union. W. A. Morris, who afterwards became one of the most prominent leaders of the Union in Alabama, was present and helped to organize the County Union.

STATE UNION.

In August, 1905, delegates from twenty-two counties met at Cordova, and organized the State Union. I. A. Worley, of Guin, was elected President; E. J. Cook, of Guin, Secretary-Treasurer;

W. A. Morris, of Sulligent, State Organizer, and T. E. Pinegar, State Lecturer. H. Pearson was elected Vice-President; P. F. Parker was elected State Business Agent; G. W. Short, Conductor; J. N. Hutto, Doorkeeper, and H. T. Nations, J. A. Fanning, I. N. Bishop, W. E. Hughes, and J. W. Sorrell, members of the Executive Committee.

The second State Convention met in Bessemer, August 22, 23 and 24, 1906. Delegates from thirty-four counties with twenty-six organizers made up this convention. The report of President Worley, some extracts of which are given below, tends to show the progress made during the first year's existence of the State Union. President Worley said:

"In this grand old State of Alabama, in the year just closing, we have grown in membership from five thousand to the grand total of sixty thousand, from 202 chartered locals to 908; from twenty-two counties to fifty-eight counties. Further, the Farmers' Union of Alabama, has the honor of being the pioneer in the practical application of Farmers' Co-Operative Union Warehouses, Lamar County being the first, and our honored and beloved brother, W. A. Morris, being the father of this paramount movement.

"Old Alabama is pleased to claim the banner for increase of membership, building of warehouses, financially, etc. Owing to our wonderful growth and prosperity, the many changes and demands upon us as an organization, it behooves us to proceed with prudence upon the various subjects that we would ask your attention, and as the conditions have not materially changed since our meeting in March last, we will be pardoned for repeating the same suggestions as will be found in my report at Canton."

The meeting at Canton was a call meeting.

The Business Agent's department had handled during the first ten months of its existence business to the amount of \$263,662.81, or more than \$26,000 per month. This department had saved the farmers of Alabama \$4 per ton on fertilizers and ten per cent on all other articles purchased through the department. The warehouse at Sulligent, which began business September 15, 1905, handled during the first ten months over \$35,000 worth of business. These facts are gathered from the report of P. F. Parker, State Business Agent.

The following officers were elected: I. A. Worley, President (re-elected); John A. Rhodes, Greenville, Vice-President; E. J. Cook, Secretary-Treasurer (re-elected); W. A. Morris, Organizer (re-elected); T. E. Pinegar, State Lecturer (re-elected); P. F.

Parker, Business Agent (re-elected); J. C. Motley, Chaplain; J. F. Hill, Sergeant-at-Arms; G. W. Short, Conductor (re-elected); J. N. Hutto, Doorkeeper (re-elected); H. P. Nations, J. A. Fanning, I. N. Bishop, W. E. Hughes, and J. W. Sorrell, were re-elected members of the executive committee. Both of these State Unions were outspoken in favor of better educational methods, cotton schools, and other demands of the Union. These demands were rapidly fastening themselves upon the people of the State, and the Union was fast growing in every section and every county.

This year, I. C. Gibson, J. F. Bishop, H. F. Nations, Walter Hill, and F. M. Self, represented the Alabama State Union as delegates in the National Convention held at Texarkana.

NEXT STATE CONVENTION.

The next State Union met in the town of Andalusia, August 28, 29 and 30, 1907. Sixty counties had representatives at this convention. During the year the Union had made progress. A number of warehouses had been built and a cotton grading school had been held at Auburn. A volume of business aggregating \$350,257.16, had passed through the Business Agent's department. Of this amount \$45,611.15 was for flour, and \$240,010.00 was for fertilizers.

J. F. Duncan, of Pickens County, was elected President; J. M. Pearson, Lauderdale County, Vice-President; E. J. Cook, Jefferson County, Secretary-Treasurer; W. A. Morris, Lamar County, Organizer; O. P. Ford, Talladega County, Lecturer; I. N. Black, Conecuh County, Chaplain; M. J. Taylor, Lawrence County, Doorkeeper, and J. N. Hutto, Talladega County, Conductor. J. F. Baker, Lamar County; J. C. Hicks, Bibb County; J. J. Robinson, Chambers County; B. L. Hill, Jackson County; R. F. Orr, Morgan County, members of the Executive Committee. National delegates were elected as follows: J. F. Hill, Shelby County; J. O. Collins, Walker County; J. H. Wilson, Talladega County; W. M. Eiland, Perry County; Fred Streit, Colbert County; J. F. Duncan, Pickens County; C. O. Beasley, Covington County.

T. E. Pinegar, who had been elected State Lecturer at the convention of 1906, had tendered his resignation, and the place was not filled until the meeting of the convention in Andalusia. For a time it seemed that the convention would be torn asunder, but wiser counsel prevailed, and when the convention met in Birmingham all the old differences were adjusted and Alabama is moving along smoothly.

BIRMINGHAM CONVENTION.

Delegates from every county of Alabama met in the city of Birmingham, July 1, 1908. Representatives of the city of Birmingham, the Commercial Club, the Board of Trade and the State Federation of Labor, delivered addresses of welcome. Fraternal delegates from the United Garment Workers of America, the Alabama State Federation of Labor, the Birmingham Trades Council, and the Ladies' Label League, were received during this convention. The offices of President and Organizer were consolidated. The State Business Agent was made elective.

The following officers were elected: W. A. Morris, Lamar County, President; J. W. Kelsoe, Coffee County, Vice-President; T. F. Johnson, Lauderdale County, Secretary-Treasurer; J. C. Wallace, Limestone County, Chaplain; O. P. Ford, Calhoun County, Lecturer; J. F. Hill, Shelby County, Sergeant-at-Arms; H. O. Dean, Tallapoosa County, Conductor, and M. J. Taylor, Lawrence County, Doorkeeper. The executive committee consisting of J. J. Robinson, Jr., Chambers County; J. F. Barker, Lamar County; R. F. Orr, Morgan County; Ben L. Hill, Jackson County, and J. C. Hicks, Bibb County, were elected. The following were elected to the National Convention: Mrs. O. P. Ford, J. H. Wilson, J. J. Robinson, Jr., J. M. Pearson, L. O. Cox, William H. Hundley, and G. D. Grant. Every county in the State of Alabama has a county organization and the work under the administration of W. A. Morris is moving along splendidly.

CHAPTER XXI.

STATE ORGANIZATION—TENNESSEE, MISSISSIPPI, SOUTH CAROLINA, KANSAS.

TENNESSEE.

THE first local Union organized in the State of Tennessee was at Big Springs School House, Madison County. J. W. Morris, of Texas, was the organizing officer. Nine members joined at the time, and since then (April 13, 1904), this local Union has grown to one hundred and five members, and is still in a flourishing condition. R. E. Price was elected President, and A. Roberts, Secretary. A. Roberts was the first man who gave his name to the organizer and has a medal given by the organizer for this act.

The State Union was organized April 3, 1906, by Newt. Gresham. This was the first time Newt. Gresham visited the State in the interest of the Farmers' Union. He was soon afterward stricken with appendicitis, from which he died.

Tennessee is among the leading States in all things that pertain to the progress of the Union. A good class of farmers are members, and they are striving with might and main to make the Union a success. The Union Cotton Company is located at Memphis, one of the cotton emporiums of the South, and the gateway to the West. This cotton company has a branch office in Manchester, England. Cotton warehouses have been projected by this company at Memphis on a gigantic scale and these will, in time, come to be no small factor in controlling the price of the staple product of the South. Nashville is well located for a point through which grain may be shipped into the Southern sections, and some day may be a base of supply for the States that lie East of Tennessee.

On the whole, Tennessee is well located to become the centralizing section for both grain and cotton; and, if the membership of the Union employs with diligence the chances which are theirs, Tennessee will be a center of influence equaled by none. Her waterways and her trunk lines of railways furnish ample facilities

for cheap transportation, and the Union membership can, if they will, profit by the advantageous situation of their State.

J. E. Montgomery, the State President, is an active officer, and T. J. Brooks, of Atwood, the Secretary-Treasurer, has won recognition as an expounder of the doctrines of the Union. He is the author of a small book or pamphlet that has been widely read throughout Tennessee and some of the adjoining States. Other officers have been: Sam Young, Vice-President; J. N. Davis, Second Vice-President; J. T. Babb and J. T. Upton, Lecturers. J. E. Montgomery has held the office of President since the first State Union was organized in 1906, as has T. J. Brooks, the Secretary's place, and J. T. Upton, formerly held the place of State Organizer, and J. G. Babb, Lecturer.

There are two features pertaining to the management of the Tennessee State Union that no other State has. These features are deemed worthy of mention. First, the constitution provides that each local secretary shall forward to the secretary of the executive committee a statement of all moneys sent by him to the State Secretary-Treasurer. At the close of each quarter, the Secretary of the State sends to the Secretary of the Executive Committee his books which the Secretary of the Executive Committee compares with the statements sent to him by the local Secretaries. By this method the State Secretary cannot collect any funds without duly accounting for them. Secondly, the State Secretary of his own volition publishes quarterly an itemized statement of all receipts and disbursements.

Tennessee State Union met in its third annual convention on December 8, 1908, in the courtroom of the Madison County Courthouse, in the city of Jackson. The delegates came for business and not for pleasure, and a great many important measures were brought before the body and action taken on them. It was encouraging to note the interest manifested by the non-Union citizens of Jackson and Madison Counties. All the open meetings were well attended, and on the public speaking nights the large courtroom was filled to the very doors. Many men and a few ladies stood up for three hours and listened to the gospel of Unionism by J. M. Pearson, of Alabama, and R. A. N. Wilson, of Mississippi.

The ninth was devoted to business and more business could hardly have been crowded into one day. The morning session opened at 7:30 o'clock and the night session closed at 1:30 the next morning. Good humor and brotherly love pervaded the whole assembly, and although several of the delegates left on early

trains for their respective homes, there were considerably more than one hundred delegates in the room when they adjourned by singing, "In the Sweet Bye and Bye," and a general handshaking.

Some of the important features of this convention follows: The State Executive Committee met on the seventh and examined the books, receipts and reports of the State Secretary-Treasurer, and reported that they failed to find a single error on the books, and also declared that the State Secretary's administration had been painstaking and accurate.

From the State Secretary-Treasurer's report we gather these facts: "One year ago we had 760 local Unions. At the present we have 955, a gain of 195 locals. Since the first day of January, 1908, we have collected \$6,743.88, and paid out \$6,708.11. During the year six counties have been chartered, namely: Giles, Rutherford, Henry, Bradley, Polk and Stewart." A statement of the year's finances shows that on November 30, there was a cash balance on hand of \$741.30.

A very important measure adopted by this convention was to federate all the Union warehouses in the State under one head and that a board of three be appointed by the State Executive Committee to have general charge of the warehouses so federated and to be known as the "Board of Control." This board is to appoint a manager for each warehouse, and the selling of all cotton or other product that passes through the warehouses is to be under the control of this board.

In addition to this a house to house canvass is to be made in every county of the cotton belt and every Union and non-Union farmer is to be urged to sign an agreement, or pledge, that they will reduce their cotton acreage to the extent that enough food and feed stuff will be raised for home use. And also, that they will market at least a part of the 1909 cotton through Union channels.

Another very important step was the electing of a committee consisting of State Secretary T. J. Brooks, J. H. McDowell, and W. G. Perkins, to visit the Tennessee Legislature and work for a law abolishing the bucketshops in Tennessee, and to look after any other legislation that is for the benefit of the farmers in the State.

As proof that the Tennessee Union is running smoothly, we point to the fact that the State President, J. E. Montgomery, and State Secretary T. J. Brooks, were both re-elected to a third term by acclamation, no one being placed in nomination against either of them.

Other State officers of Tennessee are: L. M. Rhodes, Vice-

President; G. G. Jarrell, W. H. Rhodes, J. D. Tarrant, T. N. Epperson, and T. W. Cunningham are State Executive Committeemen.

MISSISSIPPI—ITS WAREHOUSES AND BANKS.

The Mississippi Union has worked out, at considerable trouble, complete details for the operation of the Farmers' Union Warehouses.

The officials knew that business methods must be employed for the warehouse system to succeed. Acting upon this knowledge, they secured the services of a man experienced in the handling of corporation matters to make an investigation. The expert prepared a set of books, receipts and reports and inaugurated a system for the management of the warehouses.

A feature of the system is the issuance of negotiable receipts, better known as cotton certificates. These receipts have been examined by several bankers and as many attorneys, and have been pronounced adequate and legal.

The first local Union was organized in Mississippi early in 1904. The exact date cannot be learned owing to the fact that in the beginning of the organization few records were kept. Those kept at headquarters in Texas were destroyed by fire. B. F. Burgess, a commissioned organizer, planted the Union in Mississippi, having organized the first local Union there. From this beginning the Union grew very rapidly.

The State Union was organized March 13, 1906, at Jackson, Mississippi. J. M. Bass, of Hazelhurst, was elected President; G. W. Russell, Secretary-Treasurer; T. F. Kyle, of Plymouth, Vice-President; E. M. Boyd, Rayburn, Chaplain; T. W. Thompson, Blue Springs, Conductor; Abner Pen, Aryeville, Doorkeeper, and H. W. Bradshaw, Pelahatchie; T. R. Palmer, Greenwood Springs; M. A. Brown, Yazoo City; W. E. Dunwoody, Enon, and B. H. Wade, Beldon, members of the Executive Committee.

The convention in 1907, being satisfied with these officials, they were re-elected. This convention outlined plans and made provisions for the extension of the work to every county in the State. Other conventions since then have witnessed growth and development in all quarters of the country.

On January 2, 1908, delegates from sixty-five counties met in the city of Jackson, in the second annual session of the Mississippi division of the Farmers' Union.

Hon. William Hemingway delivered the address of welcome and W. W. Welch made the response. The address of President

Bass brought out the fact that he had visited in his official capacity, fourteen counties and delivered lectures in them, in which he advised the establishment of cotton grading schools. During the year just past, the Union put forth an effort to have cotton wrapped in cotton bagging.

This is the first Union State to adopt cotton bagging.

This effort, however, did not meet with the success that its promoters had anticipated.

The report of the President showed that there were thirty-one warehouses in the State, capitalized at \$274,000. Other warehouses are in process of construction and many others have been planned, which, when complete, will bring the capital stock of the Farmers' Union warehouse in the State of Mississippi up to \$500,000.

On the question of banking, the State Union took steps looking to the establishment of a bank to be known as the Farmers' Union Bank & Trust Company, this being one of the first efforts of any State Union to embark in the banking business.

The president stated that if this bank is wisely and judiciously handled it will prove the one institution that will place the Farmers' Union upon that broad business platform that will guarantee its success.

The committee on good of the order, through a resolution passed by the convention, instructed the president and executive committee to furnish the membership with some good literature on Unionism.

The secretary was instructed to prepare a suitable blank for the local Unions to report the actual acreage of cotton. Condition of cotton as well as the number of acres was to be given on this blank so that the delegates to the national convention might have accurate data before them when fixing the minimum price on cotton. Much complaint had been made about data of this kind, hence the action of the convention. A copy of this resolution was requested to be sent to every State Secretary where the Union was organized.

The trustees of the Mississippi Agricultural School were asked to have a department on cotton grading added to the school. By request, this department was to be attached to the business department. The cotton schools held under the auspices of the Union have been so successful that the committee deemed it a wise step for the Agricultural School to take up the cotton grading department.

In the election of officers G. R. Hightower was elected Presi-

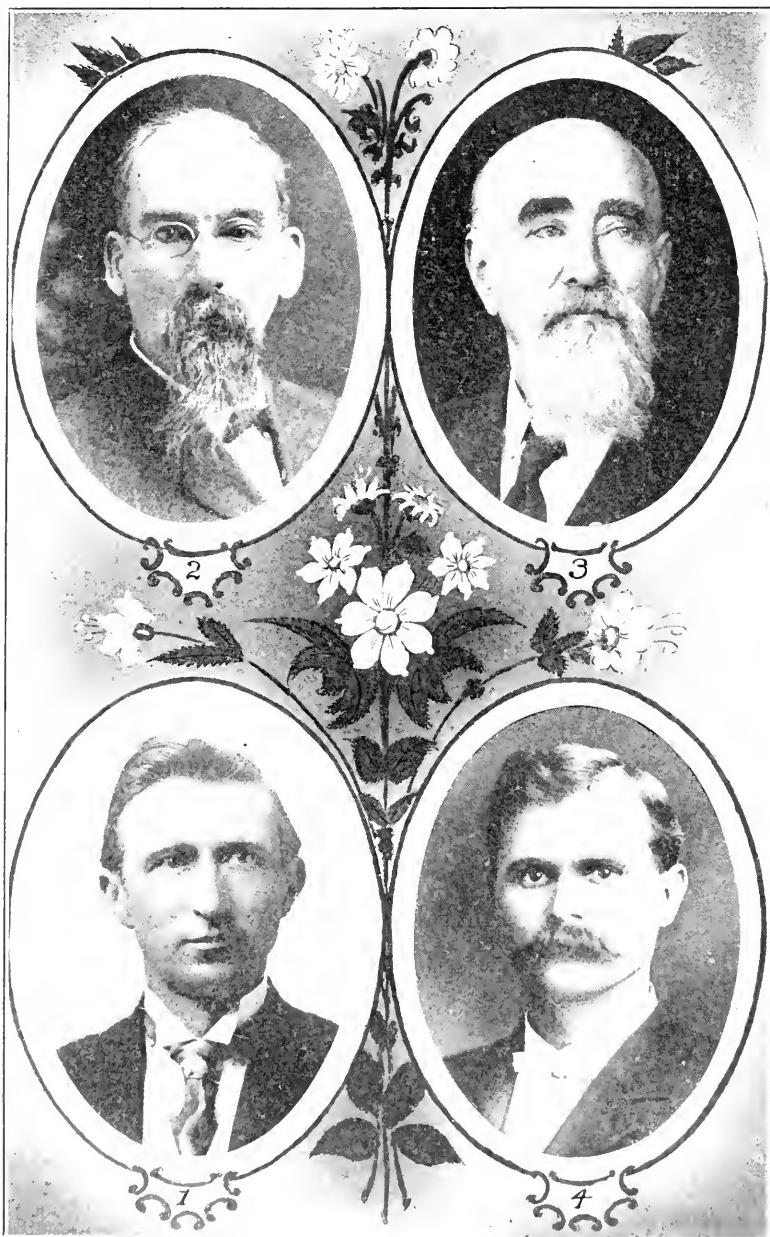
dent; T. R. Palmer, Vice-President; G. W. Russell, Secretary-Treasurer; R. A. N. Wilson, Chaplain, and S. T. Rhodes, Conductor. Executive Committee is composed of John L. Collins, Yalobusha County; F. S. Coffin, Clark County; T. J. Johnson, Itawamba County; W. H. Cobb, Monroe County, and J. W. Shoemaker, Union County. Orange Herrington was later placed on the committee to fill out the term of Coffin, who died in office.

At the annual convention held in January, 1909, the following officers were elected: G. R. Hightower, Oxford, re-elected President; J. M. Bass, Hazellhurst, Vice-President; G. W. Russell, Hazellhurst, Secretary-Treasurer; J. L. Collins, State Business Agent. W. H. Cobb, Aberdeen; J. M. Harvey, Meridian; J. L. Jones, McComb City; Orange Herrington, Ellisville, and J. W. Carter, Bentley, members of the Executive Committee.

Some of the important things acted upon at the State convention were resolutions endorsing the establishment of a produce exchange, the naming of the second Friday in February as Diversification Day, and requesting that all local Unions meet and lay plans for the ensuing year, approval of the plans to secure the co-operation of the banks in Mississippi, and the financing of cotton, approval of the work of the warehouse federation in Mississippi, and the adoption of the resolutions instructing a special committee to begin at once to incorporate all the warehouses under one charter, and to secure a capitalization of said incorporation for not less than \$1,000,000; approval of the plan to have a great warehouse at New Orleans, launching of a State paper to be owned and controlled by the State Union, which will be sent free to every home in the State where the Union is represented. To carry the latter project into effect the constitutional amendment was submitted to the membership, raising the dues from 68 cents to \$1.10 per year.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

The organization of the Farmers' Union in South Carolina was begun by B. F. Earle, a native of Anderson County, South Carolina. Earle had moved to Texas a number of years before the beginning of the Farmers' Union, and settled in Hunt County, where shortly after the organization of the Union he was living and where he joined the Union. He was commissioned organizer for the State of South Carolina, and organized the first local Union at Septus, Anderson County, with seventeen members. The local was named "Five Forks," and T. T. Wakefield was elected President, and W. L. Casey, Secretary of this local. The work of the



STATE OFFICIALS, TENNESSEE DIVISION.

1. T. J. BROOKS, State Secretary Treasurer.
2. J. E. MONTGOMERY, State President Tennessee and Vice-President
National Union.
3. J. N. DAVIS, Ex Vice President.
4. J. T. UPTON, State Organizer.

Union was extended into Pickens, Oconee, Greenville, Spartanburg, Laurens, Abbeville, Greenwood, Union, Cherokee, York, and Lancaster Counties.

In May, 1906, delegates met in the city of Anderson, and organized the first State Union. O. P. Goodwin, of Laurens County, was elected President; T. T. Wakefield, of Anderson, Vice-President, and B. F. Earle, of the same place, Secretary-Treasurer; M. A. Mahaffey was elected State Organizer. J. C. Stribling, Pendleton; B. Harris, Anderson, and T. T. Wakefield, Anderson, were elected members of the Executive Committee. The growth of the Union in South Carolina was slow. Many of the farmers were afraid that the organization would drift into politics, as did the Alliance.

The Farmers' Alliance had grown very rapidly in this State, and politicians availing themselves of the opportunity, had taken advantage of the popularity of the Alliance and the prejudice of its members to foist themselves into office. The State had been torn by a political strife, such as had not been witnessed since the stirring days of nullification, when John C. Calhoun led the fight in the United States Senate for States' rights., and George McDuffie, the fiery Irish orator, awoke the people to a fighting mood. The people of the State, during the heated political campaign, the outgrowth of the Alliance, were divided into two factions. Bitterness and strife marked its progress. Brother was divided against brother, and oftentimes father against son, and bitter discussions around the firesides were the result.

When the organizers entered the State, South Carolinians did not take to them any too kindly as they feared that there might be a repetition of the scenes through which they had passed in 1890. In fact, they took it as a political movement, hence the growth was slow. Hardly had the State Union been organized before dissensions and discords among the officials became apparent, and they soon got to fighting among themselves, which also prevented the rapid spread of the Union in the State.

The second State convention was held in the city of Greenwood, July 25, 1907. O. P. Goodwin, of Laurens, was re-elected President, and T. T. Wakefield, of Anderson, Vice-President. A number of committees were appointed, one of the most important being a committee on warehouses. W. C. Moore, of Greenville, then acting State Business Agent, was appointed chairman of the committee on fertilizers. Moore went to Manchester, England, in the fall after the convention and remained for some time, negotiating with the spinners for direct trade relations between

growers and manufacturers. Moore's trip was not successful, as the cotton company which he represented in Greenville, got out of harmony with the State Union.

Before the convention adjourned, it was clear that some of the officers could not agree, and a row was imminent. They differed as to what should be the policy of the Union upon certain issues affecting the State. An effort was made to bring the factions together, but it failed. A call session of the Union was held in the city of Columbia, in November, for the purpose of settling the dispute between the parties. The membership was so torn by the row that it was deemed best to surrender the State charter. B. F. Earle, of Anderson, was put in charge of the Union affairs in the State by National Secretary R. H. McCulloch, of Beebe, Arkansas.

THIRD CONVENTION.

The third convention of the State Union was held in the city of Columbia, in July, 1908. B. Harris, who had been elected president by a call convention, was re-elected president, and J. Whitner Reid, Secretary. This convention was a harmonious one. The old rows were forgotten, and each one present confidently set his face toward a new era in the life and progress of the Farmers' Union in South Carolina. This convention placed the organizing force in the hands of the Executive Committee. This committee was made up of W. R. Parks, Parksville; J. C. Stribling, Pendleton; O. P. Goodwin, Laurens; J. F. Ash, McConnellsburg; T. C. Willoughby, Florence; L. L. Baker, Bishopville.

Since the reorganization of the State Union, the work of organization has been pushed. The following counties have been organized during 1908: Fairfield, Richland, Orangeburg, Calhoun, Williamsburg, Clarendon, Marion, and is now being pushed in Aiken, Barnwell, Bamberg, Marlboro, Horry, and Union.

The county business agents met in the city of Columbia on December 8 and elected J. M. Holmes, of Calhoun County as State Business Agent. At that time it was decided to hold a special meeting of the State Union in January for the purpose of letting the membership in the State become better acquainted.

KANSAS.

Kansas lies in the wheat and corn-growing belt. Her people claim that she produces more wheat and corn, when the two are considered together, than any other State. This State was, during

the days of the Alliance, a leading State of that organization. Jerry Simpson, known as the "Sockless Statesman," was for several years a member of Congress from Kansas on the Alliance platform.

The State was settled by Abolitionists from the North and champions of slavery from the South. The State, therefore, was a hotbed of strife at the time Kansas was admitted to statehood before the civil war. In an atmosphere of this kind, her people came to be fighters and contenders for whatever they considered right. They were always strong supporters of farmers' organizations, and ready to join in any movement of the kind.

Hence when the Union was planted there in 1906, the farmers were ready to welcome it as a means of deliverance from the mortgage system then operative throughout the State. So general was the system that one of the attractions at the St. Louis Exposition was a carload of canceled mortgages from Kansas. For many years the farms of the State had been mortgaged up to almost their full value. Poor crops and low prices were in the main responsible for the existence of so many mortgages. The farmers, hoping to free themselves from debt by the operation of the Union, joined in numbers.

The farmers' co-operative business meeting at Topeka in the fall of 1906 had a very beneficial influence on the Union in the State, and furnished a means by which it was largely advertised in that State. As stated elsewhere, this congress was barren of results, except as it applied to the State of Kansas. From this meeting came an enthusiasm that diffused itself throughout the State.

The State Union was organized in Hutchinson, and the outlook was bright, but a row soon broke out, and to make the story short, the charter was suspended and a State meeting was called to meet in Hutchinson in 1907, to reorganize the State Union, and the following officers were elected: E. H. Hewins, Topeka, President; Alex Naylor, Cimarron, Vice-President; Alvin Allen, Jetmore, Secretary-Treasurer. Executive Committee: F. L. Burt, Hallet; E. S. Newlin, Emporia; F. N. Batchman, Great Bend; J. L. Gant, Medicine Lodge; M. McAuliff, Salina; C. H. Melvin, Eminence; Chaplain, C. E. Roughten, Jetmore; Conductor, C. S. Walker, White City; Doorkeeper, Ole Olson, Salina. Alvin Allen has since resigned as State Secretary-Treasurer, and E. M. Rogers has been elected in his place.

The Kansas row was the cause in that State of a lot of harm, from which it has not fully recovered at this time. The work in

some of the adjoining States has been retarded by the disputes. This, however, is being overcome, and the border States about Kansas are beginning to line up for the Union.

It is to be hoped that the membership of Kansas has learned a lesson that they will not soon forget, and that other States may profit by the experiences of this State. No State can long prosper with rival factions contending with each other. The one that wins out cannot bring about the peace that should mark the onward trend of Union affairs. Somebody is hurt; somebody's feelings are lacerated, and the work suffers accordingly. If we ever expect to accomplish the noble purpose for which our order stands and bring to the highest perfection the splendid privileges, we, as Union members, expect, we must surrender our selfish motives to the wishes of the majority.

Kansas has a number of independent elevator concerns that do business with many independent buyers. Haven is the headquarters for these elevator companies, some of which are in a measure controlled by Union men, or men in sympathy with the Union. Iowa, Illinois, and Minnesota, likewise are well organized fields of operation in the matter of independent grain elevators. However, the Union has but little following, except in Kansas and Illinois. These elevators are doing a lot for the farmers throughout the territory where they are, and will aid the men in getting better prices.

The movement has already had its effect upon the grain markets of the West and Middle West, and when the Union gets a good hold upon the section, the training in co-operative lines will have its weight upon the country. The Middle Western States can be of great service to the people of the South, by furnishing them with grain and meat at a lower price to the Southern people and at an increase to themselves.

CHAPTER XXII.

STATE ORGANIZATION—ILLINOIS, MISSOURI, COLORADO,
WASHINGTON, FLORIDA, NORTH CAROLINA, KENTUCKY,
IOWA, OREGON, IDAHO, VIRGINIA, CALIFORNIA.

ILLINOIS.

THE Illinois State Union was organized March 27, 28, 1907, at Marion. A delegation of three members was sent from the Farmers' National Union of Illinois, Missouri and Indiana, to the Texarkana convention of the Farmers' Union which met in September, 1906, asking that they be allowed to merge with the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America.

The Farmers' Union of Illinois was a farmers' organization confined principally to Illinois, Missouri and Indiana, and many of the substantial farmers of these States were members, and as soon as the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union came into prominence, these members sought to merge, and accordingly sent delegates to Texarkana.

The Texarkana convention instructed the president, with the advice of the national board of directors, to take over this organization, if upon investigation they found it the proper thing to do. The national board made an investigation, with the result that the Farmers' Union was merged with the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, and constitutes a part of the national organization.

The real work of the Farmers' Union of Illinois began April 27, 1900, when at Brush Creek School House, Somerset Township, Jackson County, the Farmers' Social and Economic Union was organized by forty-six farmers. The name and plan of this Union were furnished by W. D. Crews. The first local lodge of that organization was organized at Grange Hall by Edward Deason, one of the deputy organizers, acting under the first State Organizer, W. D. Crews.

Prior to the meeting at Marion, an organizer of the Farmers' Union had visited the State, but very little had been done by way of effecting an organization. T. P. Crawford organized the first

local of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union at Pine Knot, in Wayne County.

At Marion a committee drafted a constitution under which the following State officers were elected:

A. H. Evans, President; W. A. Bain, Vice-President; E. B. Hunter, Secretary-Treasurer; Andrew Sheppard, Chaplain; T. P. Crawford, Conductor, and G. B. Sanders, M. M. Sims, G. W. Bennett, G. W. Ketterman, and E. T. Pierce, members of the Board of State Directors. The Board of Directors appointed organizers for each county, thereby making provision for the immediate prosecution of the organization work on a larger scale. Also the *Union Farmer*, which had up to that time been the official organ of the Union, under the ownership of the Union, was turned over to the ownership of its editor, W. D. Crews, by whom it is still conducted.

The Farmers' Union had incurred some indebtedness, and when the consolidation was made, money was raised at the time by the members of the convention to meet all the obligations of the old organization.

The Marion convention took decided action on the temperance question by passing a strong resolution petitioning the Illinois Legislature to pass the local option bill.

The 1907 session of the Illinois Farmers' Union convention was held at Mt. Vernon. A. H. Evans, W. A. Bain, and E. B. Hunter were re-elected President, Vice-President, and Secretary-Treasurer, respectively. J. H. Henson was elected Organizer, and George S. Reinhardt Business Agent. All members of the Executive Committee were re-elected.

At the annual convention of 1908, held at Pinckneyville, the following officers were elected:

A. H. Evans, President, Tamaroa; W. A. Bain, Vice-President, Benton; E. B. Hunter, Secretary-Treasurer, Murphysboro; John F. Craig, Organizer and Lecturer, Johnson County; J. F. Henson, Chaplain, Orchardville; W. A. Riley, Conductor, Xenia; J. L. Halam, Doorkeeper, Crossville; Joseph Burkett, Business Agent, Orchardville; Executive Committee: J. F. Henson, Orchardville; G. B. Sanders, Sparta; John Walker, Pulaski County; John T. Riggs, Hardin County; W. D. Green, Marion County.

The Illinois Union had done well during the first year of its history, and the reports show that considerable progress had been made. The panic which affected alike the grain growers as well as the cotton producers, had been felt in the State as well as in other sections of the country, and it, too, had its effect upon the Union membership in Illinois as in Georgia.

The Union in this State has its grave and perplexing problems as it has in every State, but by wise, conservative action on the part of the membership, these problems can be solved to the benefit of all. No clash has yet occurred to mar the movement in Illinois, and if the even tenor of things are pursued, as they should be, the farmers of that State can and will reap lasting good from the Farmers' Union.

The Union, because of its principles, is destined to capture the West, where the bulk of the grain, with which the needs of the country are supplied, are grown. The grain growers and the stock raisers are as much entitled to fair prices for their products as the men who grow the cotton supply of the world. Only by organizing can they hope to compete with other allied and organized interests.

The people of Illinois have it within their power to make the Farmers' Union, in the Middle West, a stronghold from which to wage war in behalf of equal rights for the merchant, banker, the professional man and the artisan alike. Will Illinois do it? Her sister States will look to her as a leader, and Providence has seemingly chosen her for this responsible place. Time will reveal the success desired or the failure which all should pray not to be visited upon the noblest and best organization that it has ever been the farmer's good pleasure to have.

W. D. Crews gives in notes some interesting facts. Illinois is an old veteran in the work of farmers' organizations. The Grange has been at work in this State continuously for more than a third of a century.

The Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association was organized in Southern Illinois about the year 1886, and did good work until about 1890, when it began to wane, and by 1892 had all died out but a very small remnant, which continued to exist until about 1901, when it began to grow again, and in April, 1906, was consolidated with the Farmers' Social and Economic Union and the Farmers' Relief Association.

The Farmers' Alliance was strong in parts of Southern Illinois, in the early nineties of the past century, when it died out here, as elsewhere.

But the real beginning of *Farmers' Union* in Illinois was the organization of the Farmers' Social and Economic Union, April 27, 1900, which was chartered by the State authorities May 17 of the same year.

The first State officers of the Farmers' Social and Economic Union were: President, A. J. Cross; Vice-President, A. G. Crow;

Secretary, E. B. Hunter; Treasurer, Josiah Kimmel; Organizer, W. D. Crews.

Trustees: A. J. Cross, President; E. B. Hunter, Secretary, and W. I. Deason, C. W. Piper, L. R. Breeden, and Josiah Kimmel.

The Farmers' Social and Economic Union made a rapid and solid growth for a few years, extending into Missouri and Nebraska, and developing up to what was called a Temporary National Union.

In April, 1906, the Farmers' Social and Economic Union, the Farmers' Relief Association, and a part of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, were consolidated under the name of Farmers' Union. The last set of national officers of the Farmers' Social and Economic Union were as follows: President, Scott Crews; Vice-President, G. B. Sanders; Secretary, E. B. Hunter; Treasurer, A. J. Cross; Organizer, T. J. Wolf; Editor, W. D. Crews (all of Illinois), and Lecturer, L. C. Davis, of Missouri.

Trustees: George S. Rinehardt, E. B. Hunter, J. C. Davis, and R. M. Dempsey (all of Illinois), and David Strubb, of Missouri.

A few days after the organization of the Farmers' Social and Economic Union, another nearby community of farmers organized the Farmers' Relief Association (or F. R. A., referred to above). This made a good growth in Southern Illinois, and held its separate existence until consolidated with the Farmers' Social and Economic Union and the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association into the Farmers' Union, April, 1906.

The national officers of the Farmers' Union (which formerly had headquarters at Pinckneyville, Illinois, 1906, was afterward merged into the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, at Marion, March 27, 28, 1907), were as follows:

President, W. A. Bain, Benton, Illinois; Secretary, E. B. Hunter, Murphysboro, Illinois; Treasurer, Harrison White, Marion, Illinois; Lecturer, George W. Bennett, Benton, Illinois; Organizer, A. H. Evans, Tamaroa, Illinois; Editor, W. D. Crews, DeSoto, and Secretary-Treasurer of Mortuary Fund, G. W. Kettnerman, Ewing, Illinois.

Trustees: George W. Bennett, C. L. Miller, Andrew Shepherd, W. A. Bain, and E. B. Hunter (all of Illinois), and John G. Wear, Poplar Bluff, Missouri.

The farmer's emblem and label was first adopted by the Farmers' Social and Economic Union in the winter of 1900-1901, and first printed and used in the early spring of 1901, the first design being a four-leaf of clover. The clover leaf design was also the emblem and label of the Farmers' Union, which was merged into the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America.

The design was suggested and the label first used by W. D. Crews.

MISSOURI.

The Missouri Farmers' Union had its beginning at Neosho. The first local was organized by H. N. Ray, and was called at Cedar Creek, near Joplin, in Jasper county. W. A. Albright was elected secretary. The name of the first president of this local was lost in some of the misplaced records.

The State Union was organized at West Plains, March 22, 1907. John G. Wear was elected President; N. H. Summitt, Vice-President; L. F. Luthy, Secretary; W. W. Fisher, Organizer; J. T. Barrett, Business Agent; J. J. Wilson, Chaplain; William B. Yount, Doorkeeper; A. H. Hughes, Conductor; James McIntosh, Sergeant-at-Arms; J. A. Miller, J. F. Baker, C. M. Gooch, F. M. Best, and W. B. Yount, Executive Committee. At this meeting twenty counties were represented by delegates.

The executive committee called a special meeting of the State convention in Poplar Bluff August 12, 1907. At this meeting twenty-one counties were represented by sixty-one delegates. The purpose for which this special meeting was called was the election of delegates to the national convention at Little Rock.

J. G. Wear, State President, and O. L. Paige were elected delegates; N. H. Summitt and G. B. Myers, alternates. The convention passed a resolution calling upon the National Union to take definite action in fixing the price of wheat and corn. This resolution suggested one dollar per bushel for wheat and fifty cents per bushel for corn as a reasonable minimum to be set by the national convention. The called convention also requested the membership to make provisions for the handling, storing, and marketing of wheat and corn. The parcels post was endorsed.

The regular annual meeting of the State Union was held at Springfield, August 11, 12, 13, 1908. Delegates representing twenty-nine counties met in the city hall at Springfield on the morning of August 11, and the convention was called to order by State President J. G. Wear. J. G. Eubanks, of Georgia, addressed the convention upon the necessity of co-operation. He estimated the savings to the people, who co-operated through the Farmers' Union, at \$1,008,000 for the year passed, and stated that there was a saving of \$25,000 per month to the membership of Georgia who took advantage of the Business Agent's department of that State. Ben L. Griffin, of Arkansas, in a speech recommended the raising of home supplies wherever the Union existed.

A total of \$10,098.74 had been paid into the State treasury since

the organization of the State Union at West Plains, in 1907. At the West Plains meeting twenty counties either had county organizations or local Unions organized within their boundaries. At this meeting, 1908, thirty-six counties were either organized or had local Unions. At the Springfield meeting it developed that there were 16,836 members of the Farmers' Union in Missouri.

Of this number, 11,543 were male members in good standing, and 5,293 were women. This membership belonged to 615 local Unions.

W. D. Crews, of Illinois, with others, discussed the advisability of a newspaper for the Union. A business agent's department was endorsed.

N. H. Summitt, of Dunklin County, was elected President; John A. Miller, East Prairie, Vice-President; L. F. Luthy, Lebanon, Secretary-Treasurer; J. W. Shaw, Pontiac, Organizer and Lecturer; J. E. Fulkerson, Lebanon, State Business Agent; S. F. Green, Dunklin County, Chaplain; A. J. Rich, Shannon County, Conductor, and A. P. Russell, Ripley County, Sergeant-at-Arms. The Executive Committee as elected, consisted of C. M. Gooch, Ripley County; J. F. Baker, Bates County; William B. Yount, Bollinger County; M. B. Peters, Howell County, and R. M. Rubottom, Wayne County. T. J. Douglas, Dunklin County, and J. M. Bowers, Wayne County, were elected delegates to the National Union at Ft. Worth.

Missouri is made up of an excellent class of farmers who are progressive and alert, and the State officials believe that great things will be accomplished by the movement. The work in Missouri gives promise of great future progress, as the State officials are busily pushing it, and much will be heard from the workings of the Union in that State. The Society of Equity has long been a leading organization in this and other Western States, and the people are alive to organized movements. Missouri was one of the leading States during the days of the Farmers' Alliance, and but for the political tendencies of the Alliance would have adhered to the order.

Sketches of the President and other officials are given elsewhere, and from a perusal of the same the reader can get some idea of the class and character of the men who compose the Farmers' Union in Missouri.

COLORADO.

"Westward the empire of state takes its course," is a terse and striking epigram once heard in the earlier days of the republic.

Emigrants from all sections poured across the Ohio and the Mississippi on their way to settle in the rich prairie lands of the West. These emigrants had but little of this world's goods, but they had abundant faith in the future of the country they were on their way to settle.

They traveled into this boundless prairie waste in wagons, called prairie schooners, and carried their earthly belongings with them in their wagons, farm tools, household goods, and seed for the crop, which they expected to grow. State after State was settled in this manner, and there grew up a hardy and independent class of farmers, who laid the foundation of one of the greatest sections of this country.

The same epigram might be appropriately used in connection with the spread of the Farmers' Union into this rich farming section of the West.

T. W. Goodrow organized the first Farmers' Union in the State of Colorado at Langdon, Teller county, in July, 1907. Seven members joined at this meeting. The local was given the name of Crystola. Charles S. Simmons was elected President, and J. W. Vandeventer Secretary. While the beginning was small, the membership was enthusiastic, and the work begun in Teller county was soon being pushed into other sections of the State.

The State Union was organized April 17, 1908, or less than one year from the time of the organization of the first local Union. George B. Lang was elected President; J. F. Brewer, Vice-President; H. S. Stovall, Secretary; A. S. Manning, Treasurer; Pardon Sayles, Organizer; J. W. Vandeventer, Statistician; W. V. Gallagher, Conductor; Fred Ruing, Doorkeeper, and W. R. Callcotte, Chaplain. Milas N. Johnson was elected delegate to the National Convention. The following: F. I. Urquhart, H. H. Schaffer, S. Wilmoth, F. W. Wilson, J. L. Thomson, were elected members of the Executive Committee.

The work is growing in the State, and Colorado gives promise of great things in the future. Her melons and cantaloupes are known everywhere, and these by the wise guidance of the members of the Farmers' Union, will come to be handled in a manner that will yield a living profit for the people of the goodly State.

The growth of the Union has been satisfactory, and at the present rate will soon include a majority of the farmers. Still westward toward the setting sun moves the ranks of the order, and other States are falling into line.



STATE OFFICIALS AND EX STATE OFFICIALS, TENNESSEE DIVISION.

1. A. A. WEBB, Ex Secretary State Executive Committee.
2. T. N. EPPERSON, Member State Executive Committee.
3. W. H. RHODIS, Member State Executive Committee.
4. L. W. G. PERKINS, Ex Member State Executive Committee.
5. G. G. JARRELL, Member State Executive Committee.

The progress of the Union has been truly marvelous. The State owns a coal mine at Aquillan, and it is said the mine is saving the Union people of Colorado \$400 per day. In addition to the coal mine, the Union owns a flour mill, located at Glenwood. The excellent results obtained from the operation of this mill is so satisfactory that others will either be bought or built. The Union also owns and operates a creamery at Pueblo, and a broom factory at Rocky Ford.

WASHINGTON.

In the extreme northwestern part of the United States, bounded on the north by the British possessions and the west by the waters of the Pacific Ocean, lies the State of Washington. Only a few years ago it was one of Uncle Sam's territorial provinces. The country was but sparsely settled and cattle raising was the chief occupation. It was discovered, however, that its soil would produce wheat in abundance, and settlers from all sections of the United States moved into Washington and began building a State.

One of the settlers who moved into Washington after it was a State was H. D. G. Cox, who had spent some years in the State of Florida. While in Florida he was a subscriber to a Southern newspaper, which he continued to take after his removal to Washington. In this paper he read of the Farmers' Union, and became interested. He wrote to the officials of the Union for information. Upon the receipt of this information he began to talk Farmers' Union. A few became interested. For more than a year he kept on telling the people about the Farmers' Union. The result of his agitation was that C. S. Barrett was invited to Waitsburg for the purpose of starting the work.

Accordingly, on April 17, 1907, the first local Union was organized at Waitsburg, Walla Walla County, Washington, by C. S. Barrett. The Prescott local Union was organized at the same time and place by the same organizer. Thirty-seven members were initiated into the Waitsburg Local Union, and fifteen into the Prescott Union. N. B. Atkinson of Waitsburg was elected President, and H. J. Murphy, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Washington State Union was organized June 15, 1908, at Pullman by C. S. Barrett, and was the first State organization west of the Rocky Mountains. The convention was made up of delegates representing more than 7,000 members. Taking this as a basis, the growth of the Union in the State of Washington has

been very remarkable. This convention took steps looking to the planting of the Union in adjoining States.

The officers of Washington are: N. B. Atkinson, Waitsburg, President; Milan Still, LaCrosse, Vice-President; A. D. Cross, St. Andrews, Douglas County, Secretary; Robert Brumblay, Waitsburg, Chaplain; A. A. Elmore, Waitsburg, State Organizer; J. M. Martin, Dusty, Whitman County, Conductor; J. C. Farr, Albion, Doorkeeper; J. R. Day, Ilo, Idaho; J. M. Reid, Pullman, Wash., and Phil W. Cox, Colfax, Wash., Directors; H. D. G. Cox, Walla Walla, Wash., Delegate to National Convention.

The farmers of Washington are building grain warehouses and these promise to be very successful. The reports that come from Washington by way of the press show how rapidly the warehouse idea of the Farmers' Union is taking hold in that State. N. B. Atkinson, the State President, says that practically all the grain of his State will be handled through the warehouses of the Farmers' Union.

The joint committee of Washington and Idaho recommended that the State Railway Commission be empowered to grant warehouse sites along transportation lines where it was deemed necessary. This committee heartily endorsed improvement of rivers and harbors along the Northwest coast, and insisted that the next session of the State Legislature of Washington repeal the law of 1907, which exempted money and money securities from taxation.

The committee on terminal elevators recommended that the Union secure terminals at tidewater for depositories of elevators at interior points. The reason given is the one quoted below: "We feel that with elevators along the lines of railroads of the Inland Empire, and with no terminals that we are helpless and in the power of the terminal companies." The committee on co-operative insurance recommended a plan of mutual fire insurance for the Union membership only. R. C. McCroskey was appointed to investigate the handling and shipping of grain, and was instructed to publish the same under the auspices of the Washington State Farmers' Union.

The Farmers' Union of Washington conceived the plan of buying jute grain bags direct from the importers. They also secured a twenty-five per cent reduction of freight rates on bags in carload lots. By these two movements alone, the grain producers of the States of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, were saved \$200,0000 over conditions prevailing the year before.

Recently N. B. Adkinson resigned as president, and L. C. Crow of Palouse was elected by the executive committee to succeed him.

FLORIDA.

The first organization of the Farmers' Union in the State of Florida was begun by J. Guy Smith, of Arkansas. The first local Union was organized in the Western section of the State, not far from Tallahassee. The records of the first local Union have been lost, and the names of the first officers cannot be given.

The State organization was perfected at Tallahassee July 15, 1907. G. N. Trawick was elected President, and J. R. Anderson Secretary-Treasurer. The second convention met in Lake City, July 15, 1908. This convention considered the price of long staple cotton, and the best methods of marketing fruit and vegetables. They passed resolutions condemning foreign immigration and endorsing a better system of rural and agricultural schools. Owing to the diversified interests of the State, the last convention divided the State into three business districts, *i. e.*, the upland cotton district, the sea island cotton district, and the vegetable district. The present State officials are now engaged in perfecting plans for the organization of a Union stock company in each district for the purpose of co-operation in buying supplies and in marketing the produce of the farmers.

The following officials were elected: M. S. Knight, President, Lake City; C. E. Pledger, Vice-President, Marianna; J. R. Pumphrey, Secretary-Treasurer, Wewahitka; S. W. Locke, Organizer, Bonifay.

The work in Florida has been carried on under adverse circumstances. There are many good and loyal Union members in the State who are doing all they can for the success of the order, but there are some disappointments, and there had been some dissensions. These, however, are passing away, and Florida will come to the front as a Union State.

Warehouses have been built at several points in the State, and have received the support of the membership. These warehouses have enabled the farmers to store their long staple cotton and hold for reasonable prices. Florida is largely a truck-growing State, and many of the people devote their entire time to trucking. The Union has been able to give but a small amount of aid to this feature of farming, but as the order grows stronger and spreads to every agricultural section of the country, much more aid can be given.

Great things are to be expected of the Farmers' Union in the land of flowers. In the future combinations can be formed with the truck-growing interests in other sections of the United States, and when this is accomplished, Florida will receive material aid

from the Union. In the production of sea island cotton she has but little competition. The southern part of Georgia and the eastern section of South Carolina are growers of long staple cotton. The growers in these three States have well nigh a monopoly on long cotton.

The financial condition of the farmers is the best ever known. They seem to be the only people whom the panic did not seriously effect. A Florida paper gives an account of how a business house was saved by the farmers. According to the paper a business house held a lot of notes against the farmers. The house was seriously embarrassed for lack of money to carry on its business. An offer was made by the house to discount the notes at five per cent if paid before maturity. Every farmer, except one, immediately discounted his note.

The last convention elected an Executive Committee who are looking after the business interests of the State. The Executive Committee as elected is composed of J. A. Jackson, Jasper; Eric Von Alexson, Laurel Hill; J. L. Sheppard, Greensboro; A. L. Buchanan, Smith Creek, and W. M. Hays, Alachua.

NORTH CAROLINA.

The Old North State, as North Carolina has been called, was slow to avail itself of the opportunity to organize under the leadership of the Farmers' Union. Some time in the latter part of 1905, S. H. Colwick, of Texas, found his way into Cleveland County, in the southwestern part of the State, and began to talk to the farmers about organizing. He met with strong opposition, but later organized a local Union at Boiling Springs, Cleveland County, with sixteen members, one more than the constitutional number necessary to secure a charter. The name of the first President of this Union has been lost from the records. R. L. Pruett was elected Secretary-Treasurer. A few other local Unions were organized in and around this same section, but not enough to be of any considerable force.

In the summer of 1907, W. A. Morris, of Alabama, one of the National Board of Directors, was sent into North Carolina for the purpose of creating an interest in the work, and reviving some of the Unions. In October, 1907, G. W. Fant, of Texas, was appointed State Organizer of North Carolina. He began his work under unfavorable conditions. The people were not favorably inclined to the Union and knew nothing of its purposes and objects. There were less than a thousand members, and these were half-hearted and lukewarm in their support.

The first State Convention was called to meet in the city of Charlotte on April 1, 1908. This convention remained in session three days and adopted a constitution and by-laws. Plans for carrying on the work were laid and policies were outlined. The convention was one of the most harmonious ever held. The delegates were highly pleased, and in their enthusiasm determined to prosecute the work to the fullest extent.

Dr. H. Q. Alexander, of Matthews, Mecklenburg County, was elected President; A. C. Shuford, of Catawba County, was elected Vice-President; E. C. Faires, of King's Mountain, Cleveland County, Secretary-Treasurer; Rev. A. C. Davis, of Union County, Chaplain; Earnest Cansler, of Lincoln County, Doorkeeper; D. A. Stroup, Gaston County, Conductor; U. S. G. Phillips, of Cherokee County, Sergeant-at-Arms; R. B. Hunter, of Mecklenburg County, Lecturer, and J. E. C. Ford, of Gaston County, Organizer. The following Executive Committee was elected: P. P. W. Plyler, J. J. Logan, Orson Morrow, D. A. Randolph and T. F. Cornwell.

The first local Union organized in North Carolina, Boiling Springs, now has a membership of twelve paid up members, and is still doing good work. There are now more than 10,000 members in the State and over 467 chartered local Unions. The membership is steadily increasing, and it is predicted that before the organization is a year old that there will be a membership of 20,000 to 25,000. The warehouse idea has taken firm hold in North Carolina, and will furnish the Union a medium by which cotton can be stored and financed.

The Union is putting forth every effort to get the membership to diversify and rotate their crops so as to rid themselves of the burden of debt. North Carolina, too, is cursed by the vampire, debt, among her farming class, and the sooner the people learn the lesson of Unionism, the better for them.

Recently the State Convention met in Monroe and re-elected all the old officers except R. B. Hunter, Lecturer. This office was consolidated with the organizing department, and J. Z. Green was put in charge. In the Executive Committee there were two changes, W. G. Crowder and J. P. Coggins being elected. H. S. Robinson was elected Business Agent.

KENTUCKY.

Kentucky, styled the dark and bloody hunting ground, where the blue grass grows in profusion and blooded horses are the rule; where the people take an especial pride in good roads and good homes, and good schools, was a difficult proposition when it came

to organizing the Farmers' Union. The people who were growers of grain and tobacco felt that if they belonged to an organization that had for its prime object the pricing of cotton, that they would get very little benefit out of it. Owing to the existence of this feeling, the work progressed slowly. The organizers were opposed in every quarter, and but for their pluck and determination, they would have been driven from the State.

The first local Union was organized in Carlisle County, May 9, 1906, by R. L. Barnett. Seven men and three ladies joined at this meeting. The local was given the name of Glenview, and S. A. Hinckey was elected President, and Henry Mabry Secretary.

The State Union was organized at Paducah, August 7, 1908. Delegates from a number of counties met in Paducah on the morning of August 6, and enthusiastically marched through the streets of the city. These marchers were very enthusiastic, and created considerable interest among the onlookers. From the river front to the meeting place, crowds lined the streets down which the delegates and members of the Farmers' Union went. This parade was the first of the kind ever seen in Paducah, and was an ocular demonstration that the farmers of Kentucky were fully determined to keep step with the modern march of progress in this country. The demonstration was in nowise intended as an intimidation of others' rights or interests, but was a declaration to all that the farmers were intensely in earnest.

The convention was well attended, and the delegation made provision for prosecuting the work on a more extensive scale. Every section of the State was to be invaded by organizers, and local Unions established wherever it was possible to found one.

The convention adopted a constitution and by-laws, and elected Robert Johnson, of Tolu, President; A. L. Wilson, Hickory Grove, Vice-President; R. L. Barnett, Paducah, Secretary-Treasurer; W. W. Morris, Chaplain; J. L. Robertson, Conductor, and J. C. Denton, Doorkeeper. Executive Committee: V. Luke Thomas, Folsomdale; Sam H. Jones, Cunningham; John Grady, Calvert City; T. B. Letta, Fulton, and M. B. Tapp, Woodville, were also elected.

Since the meeting of the State Convention, the work has gone forward under the direction of the officials in a very satisfactory manner. New locals are being organized, and many plans devised for the betterment of the entire farming class throughout the State. That the Union is bound to succeed in Kentucky no one doubts.

IOWA, OREGON, IDAHO, VIRGINIA, AND CALIFORNIA.

The Farmers' Union was planted in Iowa September 17, 1907, at Ruthven, Palo Alto County, by G. M. Davis, of Georgia. The

first local Union had fifty-six members. Lyman T. Barringer, of Ruthven, was elected President and placed in charge of the State work by the National Board of Directors. No other locals were organized, and the one at Ruthven continued for a while and died. At the present time Iowa has no effective organization.

Many causes transpired to discourage the one local Union. There existed a system of co-operative grain elevators, and many of those who were interested in these did not see the benefit of another farmers' organization. The State Organizer was in bad health and could not push the work, and the organizers from outside the State did not wish to risk an effort to line up Iowa for the Union.

The Union in the adjoining States of Illinois and Kansas and Missouri are live ones, and at no distant day organizers from some of these States will push their way into Iowa and perfect an effective organization.

Oregon and Idaho are two new States in Farmers' Union matters. Organizers are pushing their way into these States. Year by year the circle will widen and other Unions open up to help swell the number. For the people along the Pacific coast do things when they start.

The Idaho membership, owing to the peculiar geographical situation of territory where local Unions are organized, has gone in with Washington, and now comprises a part of the Washington State Union. The work in Idaho will, too, make progress as conditions are favorable for the growth of the Union there.

VIRGINIA.

Recently B. F. Earle, of Anderson, South Carolina, was sent into Virginia for the purpose of inaugurating the work of the Farmers' Union in that State. Earle has had considerable experience in the organizing work, he having done most of it in South Carolina. Earle was sent to Virginia at the earnest solicitation of the people of Virginia for an organizer. The work is being carried on around Lawrenceville, where several small local Unions have been organized.

CALIFORNIA.

Far to the westward, skirting the Pacific, lies the Golden State of California, noted for her wheat, peaches, grapes, and oranges, all of which grow as if the beneficent Creator has bestowed on this land of the sunset, the gold of the Orient as well as that of the Occident. Here in this goodly state the Farmers' Union has

been planted and through many hardships has kept alive, and today is beginning to grow.

For a long time about one hundred faithful members kept alive the flickering spark of Unionism about Fresno City, but it was a hard struggle, with many discouraging features. One faithful, persistent worker, J. M. Kneeland, of Kingsburg Local Union, No. 3, worked on when thousands less faithful than he would have given up the fight long ago and acknowledged their defeat, but not so with Kneeland. He never knew when he was defeated. His faith in the success of the Union kept his courage up when every obstacle seemed to be in the way and every hindrance presented itself.

California now has more than two thousand members, and is beginning to grow in good style. A thousand members have been taken in within the past three months, and from sections inquiries are coming in that leads to the belief that California will soon have a State Organization.

The Kingsburg local now has some seventy members, all enthusiastic and aggressive. Paris Henderson, formerly of Kansas, and one time Vice-President of that State, resides near Fresno City, and is a member of the Kingsburg Union. California gives promise of great progress, and the future is bright for growth.

No more loyal or devoted membership ever belonged to any organization than those who reside in the States bordering the Pacific, and California is among that number. Long may she prosper!

CHAPTER XXIII.

CLOSING CHAPTER ON STATE ORGANIZATION—SOME HISTORY OF EFFORT TO OBTAIN MINIMUM PRICE—TWO VALUABLE PRODUCTS—WAREHOUSES VALUABLE ADJUNCTS—DIVERSIFICATION—LEGISLATION DEMANDED—TROUBLE.

IN closing the history of the State Organizations of which the National body is made up, and is but the servant to carry out the expressed wishes of the States, a general summary is admissible, and for that reason I devote the following chapter to a general treatment of all the States. It is, in brief, a bird's eye view of the salient features treated in several of the preceding chapters.

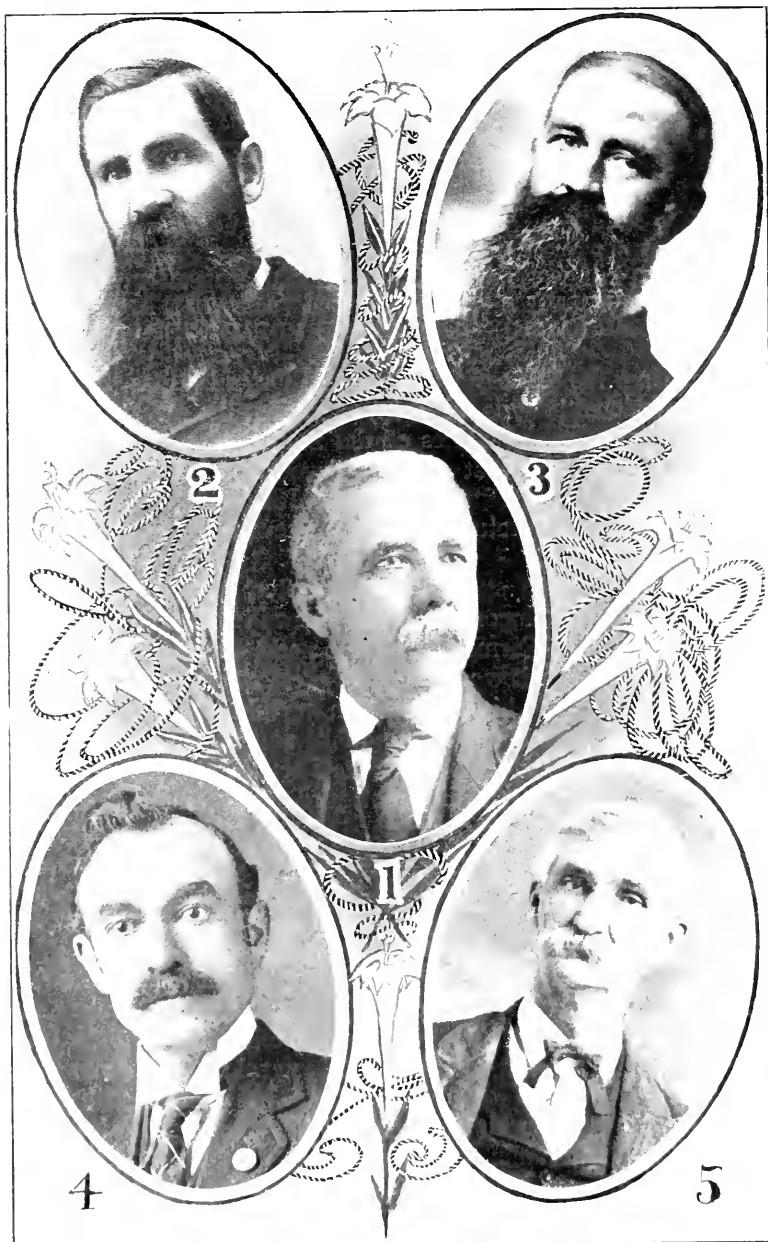
The reader can, in studying this chapter, get, so to speak, a line on many of the important events that will be a help to him.

The effort of the Farmers' Union to name and abide by a minimum price at which it would sell the great staple products of the farm, is the feature which, more than anything else, has brought the organization prominently into public notice.

It was late in the fall following the Fort Worth Convention of 1904 that the Union first undertook to name a minimum price at which it would sell farm products. The organization had not at that time gone outside the cotton belt, and its first experiment was to name ten cents a pound as the lowest price at which its members should sell middling cotton. Cotton had fallen slightly below ten cents at the time this action was taken.

On December 17 every County Union met and ratified the ten-cent minimum. Cotton continued to go down, reaching seven cents in January, 1905, and did not get back to ten cents until the June following, when much of the crop had been sold. Many who were unable to wait, had to let their cotton go, but those who held on got the price, and the Union regarded this as a signal victory in its first fight for a minimum price.

It is this effort which has brought against the organization the charge that it is a combination in restraint of trade, when its whole law and spirit are supposed to be anti-trust. Again the farmer contends that he has equal right with the merchant and the



PROMINENT WORKERS, TENNESSEE DIVISION.

1. B. G. WEST, Manager for big Warehouse Company.
2. J. H. McDOWELL.
3. DR. H. P. HUDSON, Ex-Member State Executive Committee.
4. J. D. NEWTON.
5. C. C. ADAMS.

manufacturer to put his own price upon his own product, and to combine, if necessary, to get it. He denies any effort to subvert the law of supply and demand, and says he rather seeks to counteract such subversion as is chargeable to the middlemen and the exchange. He insists that he aims solely at intelligent marketing of the crop, such as will prevent a glut in the market, and consequent depreciation in price for which the economic law can in no way be held responsible. That such depreciation comes following heavy receipts is undeniable.

At Texarkana, both in 1905 and 1906, the Union fixed the minimum price of middling cotton at eleven cents. In September, 1905, when the action was taken, it was selling in the New York spot market at 10.95c, and subsequently in December, went as high as 12.60c. In September, 1906, it was quoted at 9.80c. It did not get to 11c until the spring following, when it went above the minimum, and between May and September, 1907, ranged from 11.90c to 13.55c, the price prevailing when the convention of 1907 was called to order.

Encouraged by two successes in two successive years, and elated over what to it seemed its power to control the price, the Union at Little Rock, in 1907, fixed the minimum price for the sale of cotton at 15c, although the staple was then selling at 13.55c, the highest price known since March, 1904, when a big speculative movement carried it for the moment to 16c. The crop year had just closed with a record of 13,550,760 bales, and the prospect of 13.55c in the face of a crop like that seemed all that could be desired. This action of the Union was criticized at the time as radical and extreme, but prosperity was at its height, there was a big demand, and there seemed no apparent reason why it should not go to that figure. No human foresight could have anticipated the financial stringency. Then came the panic, and cotton, along with everything else, was materially affected. It went down rapidly, reaching in the spring of 1908 a point around 8c, but little more than half the Union demand. It has since recovered and gone as high as 12c. Men who might have gotten 13c and over for their cotton early in the season, held it for 15c; thousands, finally forced to sell to meet their obligations, pocketed their losses, but still remained otherwise loyal to the organization. The warehouse system, now being rapidly perfected, will render such occurrences in the future impossible.

The Farmers' Union is working for the future as well as for the present, and each failure to attain our complete ends is a lesson guaranteeing further success next time.

As the Union made its way into the grain States of the Middle West, it added grain to the products on which it set a minimum price. At Little Rock, in 1907, the following prices, among others, were fixed: Wheat, \$1 per bushel; corn, 50c; oats, 35c; cotton seed, \$20 per ton. It has been the boast of the Union officials that the members have always secured their prices on these products.

One of the ultimate objects of the Union in working towards the point where it can, within certain bounds, control prices, is to establish direct trade relations between the producer and the spinner. The producer seeks to get rid of the middleman and his profits, and, chiefly, of the speculator, whom he regards as his foremost enemy. Hence the Union has vigorously fought future dealing in all the States in which it is organized, and it looks for the ultimate elimination of all purely speculative features from the exchanges, or their suppression. The spinner, on the other hand, insists upon retaining the middleman, or some agency just as good as he must deal with a responsible party. It is likewise desirous of keeping the exchange as a "hedging" medium, though he expresses himself as anxious as anyone else to eliminate the destructive gambling element. These two attitudes were strikingly brought out in the international cotton conference held in Atlanta, Ga., in October, 1907. The question of the cotton exchanges was the one thing upon which the Union and the spinners could not agree. Both earnestly expressed a desire to get rid of the gambling element, which is regarded as demoralizing and depressing upon the actual market, but while the former would have wiped it out at a single blow, the spinners stood for conservative and gradual action, which, while destroying the evil, would retain the exchanges.

Again, the spinners made known to the producers that they would be willing to dispense with the middleman—the broker—provided the producer would give them a responsible person to deal with in his stead. It was suggested that they first perfect a warehouse system, place responsible persons at the head of it, and they would then be in a position to guarantee that the spinner would get exactly what he bought. That is the end toward which the Union is now working, and its object is to bring its warehouse system to this basis.

The foreign spinners gave the producers actual demonstration of the torn, ragged, and dirty condition in which the American cotton reaches the foreign mills, and urged a patterning after the trimmer, cleaner Egyptian bale. The Union is now urging upon its members the importance of improving its methods of packing and meeting this just demand of the foreign spinners.

Other subjects dealt in were such as tare, transportation, and like matters largely of a technical nature. But the chief result, so far as the producer was concerned, was to point out to him what he would have to do to bring about direct trade and to set him determinedly to work in that direction.

The second plan which works for the ultimate accomplishment of the Union's objects is diversification of crops. Year after year, even day after day, it has sought to impress the producer with the importance of growing his supplies at home, of making his own corn, hay and meat. Before he raised only cotton, as a rule, spending his profits in buying his supplies from other States, and accumulating nothing. The reason for this is that the average Southern farmer consumes his profits while he is making his crop; he is always a year behind. He is obliged to purchase his supplies in advance of the maturity of his cotton, and on cotton alone can he secure advances. Hence he goes into debt and is frequently compelled to market his crop as soon as it matures, to meet his obligations. If, on the other hand, he would plant a little less cotton and make a little more grain, hay and meat, he would soon reach that independent position wherein he need not sell his cotton until an advantageous moment. The shortening of the crop would mean better prices, and the profit on the staple would represent accumulations. The growth of the tenant system in the South and the habit of borrowing on the next season's crop has largely operated against this, but gradually the producer, urged on by the Union, is realizing the importance of this step, and the growing of home supplies is on the increase.

LEGISLATION DEMANDED.

The Farmers' Union is out of politics only in the partisan sense. Its membership, individually, is always allowed to support the candidate who promises advocacy of the measures which they desire enacted. There is certain legislation of a national character which the organization is demanding, and for which it is quietly but determinedly working. This legislation was largely outlined in the Texarkana Convention of 1906, when it recommended an increase in industrial and agricultural education in the public schools, and the institution of a course of reading on economic and governmental affairs. Some of the States are already moving in this direction. Georgia's eleven congressional district agricultural schools, recently established, were, in part, modeled in accordance with the expressed wishes of the Farmers' Union. Alabama had already taken a like step, and other States are following.

In this same convention the Union memorialized Congress to give to the rural school districts of the South the war tax collected on cotton, which amounted to some \$65,000,000; it asked a national appropriation for improving country roads; it asked the establishment of a parcels post system, and demanded enforcement of the anti-trust laws, even to imprisonment. Later, at Little Rock, in 1907, it urged the enactment of more stringent and restrictive laws regarding foreign immigration.

A committee on legislation was named at the latter convention, consisting of R. F. Duckworth, of Georgia, Chairman; Ben L. Griffin, of Arkansas, and Campbell Russell, of Oklahoma. Part of this committee made several visits to Washington in the spring of 1908.

A special assessment of ten cents per capita for organization purposes, levied by the constitution, produced considerable dissension in several States, which in Texas promised, for a time, to develop into actual revolt, but it was finally overcome, the assessment was paid, and harmony re-established.

The Union has not had all smooth sailing. Dissensions have frequently arisen within its ranks. When the time had come for the Texas organization to turn over the charter and direction of affairs to the National Organization, a faction in Texas opposed surrendering the charter. This brought about a dispute, which finally led to an extra State meeting of the Texas State Union, but by the succeeding National Convention, harmony upon this point was restored.

In South Carolina friction arose in the official family, resulting from differences among leaders of the South Carolina Union. The charter was surrendered. The State was immediately reorganized with new officials, and harmony reigned again.

In Kansas rival editors stirred up the membership to a point where disruption of the State Union was threatened. The South Carolina process was employed, reorganization followed, and the disturbing editors retired.

In Alabama a State meeting was called for the purpose of settling a dispute among State officials.

Notwithstanding, after all of our ups and downs, the Union continues to grow, and it proposes a peaceful invasion of every American State. It seeks to bring all producers from the soil into one vast, compact body, carrying business principles everywhere to the farm and enabling the producer, through a knowledge of these, to make the most advantageous disposition of his crops, to the end that he may not only live, but accumulate both knowledge and material wealth. These are its lofty aims.

CHAPTER XXIV.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES—ALABAMA, ARKANSAS.

THE men and women whose biographies are here given, were connected with different phases of the Farmers' Union. Whether humbly or in great capacity, they were identified with the cause. A history of this nature would be incomplete if it did not relate their influence over the upbuilding of the organization.

AGRICOLA, C. P., and CROUCH, J. R., Birmingham, Ala.—These two forceful men are editors of *The Farmers' Union Guide*, which is rapidly forging to the front as a bright and intelligently edited Union paper. The *Guide* is an illustration of what sheer pluck will accomplish. Messrs. Agricola and Crouch had a hard struggle at first, and there were gloomy days when less purposeful men would have given up. Not these two. With bulldog grit they hung on, working almost night and day to make the paper a success. In addition to fine ability as writers, both are experienced printers, and presently *The Guide* began to make its way. Its ringing editorial utterances, its intelligently edited matter of interest to the Union and farmers generally, combined with handsome typographical appearance, soon began to be felt. The paper is a success now, and is winning its way to the front ranks of papers of its class.

ARCHER, W. P., Gadsden, Ala.—A very prominent man in the organization in Etowah County, from a warehouse standpoint. He is one of the very best managers in Alabama.

BROWN, M. P., Centerville, Ala.—Is a hard and enthusiastic worker in the Union; began in its infancy; has never held any office, and says he doesn't want any. One of the old Alliance school.

BALDWIN, W. S., Fairhope, Ala.—Is an enthusiastic Union man; has done some organizing. He is at present President of Baldwin County. For the first two years he was County Secretary of said county. A true and tried Union man.

BALES, A. P., Albertville, Ala.—Has been a leader in the Warehouse building in his county; was chairman of the committee that had in charge the building of the Marshall County Warehouse, and was for three years manager of same.

BOLAND, E. T., Brewton, Ala.—Joined the Union July, 1905. President of his local Union, and President of Escambia County Union since its organization. Has been a commissioned organizer and has done some organizing work. Delegate to State Union when organized, 1905, and again at Birmingham, 1907.

BARKER, J. F., Beaverton, Ala.—Chairman of the State Executive Committee. Has been President of Lamar County, and Secretary of same county. Helped to organize Winston County. Has lectured in several counties. Has never missed a county meeting or a State meeting since he joined. Has served three terms as State Executive Committeeman. Barker is a sound man.

COX, L. O., Boaz, Ala.—Has been President of the Union Warehouse Company at Boaz for three years, and has spent his time and money in making the warehouse a success; has been President of his County Union two years; was a delegate to Ft. Worth and New Orleans.

CASON, C. H., Sulligent, Ala.—Warehouse manager, Sulligent; has been an active worker in the warehouse of Sulligent, and was one of those who helped to secure one of the first Union warehouses in the South. He is manager of State Produce Company.

CATHER, A. H., Birmingham, Ala.—Joined the Union at Pell City, and in a few months after his connection with the Union, he conceived the idea of publishing a weekly newspaper. He formed a partnership with Dr. E. J. Cook, then Secretary-Treasurer of the State Union, and established the "*Farmers' Union Guide*" at Pell City. The success of the *Guide* was wonderful. From a few hundred subscribers when it started, the circulation had grown to almost 10,000 by the end of the year, and is still growing. They united forces with the firm of Agricola & Crouch, in May, 1907, and continued in business under the firm name of the *Guide Publishing Company*, until they sold their interest out in 1908.

DEAN, H. O., Alexander City, Ala.—Is warehouse manager in his county; is also State Conductor of Alabama State Union. His wife has the honor of being the first delegate elected to attend a State meeting in Alabama, representing her county in State meeting. Dean is a bright, useful business man.

DUNCAN, J. F., McShan, Ala.—Is ex-President. For ten months he held said office. Dr. Duncan entered the organization in its infancy in his county; did good and effective work in organizing his county.

EVANS, L. V., Hetlin, Ala.—Has been prominently identified with the warehouse movement in his county, and has the honor of being the first President of the Cleburn Farmers' Union Warehouse Company, in which capacity he has done splendid work.

EILAND, W. M., Sprott, Ala.—Was elected President of his county in its initiation into the Farmers' Union. A very enthusiastic worker. A prominent and prosperous farmer; has been a delegate to the National Convention. Eiland is an intelligent man.

FORD, OLIVER P., McFall, Ala.—Was born July 22, 1864, on a farm where now stands the city of Anniston, Ala. His father had been a South Carolina farmer and moved to Alabama. Young Ford had but few school advantages, as it was at the close of the war, when there were few schools in the country. The South had been devastated by the war, and there were no schools of any value in Calhoun County. The great desire of young Ford's life was to get an education and to help develop the waste farms of his native county. With this craving uppermost, he schooled himself. April, 1905, he became a charter member of the first local Union organization in Calhoun County. From this time on he was persistently at work for the Union, and was elected State Lecturer at Andalusia, 1907, and re-elected 1908, at Birmingham. He was a charter member of the Farmers' Alliance of Calhoun County, and was for three years Lecturer of that organization. He has been always on the side of the farmers fighting for their rights, as is shown by his connection with the Alliance and the Union.

FANNING, J. A., Hanceville, Ala.—Prominent Union worker; organized his county; Secretary-Treasurer of Cullman for two years; delegate to the first State meeting, at which he was elected a member of the Executive Committee and served as secretary of the board for two years; delegate to the National Convention at Texarkana, 1905, and delegate to the Memphis meeting, 1908; has attended all of the regular State Unions. He has been an active member of the Wheel and the Alliance, and was a member of the Grange in South Carolina; is deeply interested in all things that pertain to the advancement of the farmer.

FORD, Mrs. O. P., McFall, Ala.—Delegate to the last National Convention; served on important committees; also attended the

Alabama State Convention. She is the wife of O. P. Ford, the State Lecturer.

GAY, CHARLES L., Montgomery, Ala.—An active member of the Farmers' Union in Alabama; President of his Local and Vice-President of his County Union. He was a charter member of the Southern Cotton Growers' Association; President of his county division, and a member of the National Executive Committee of that Association. He is one of the largest and most prominent farmers in Alabama.

HUNDLEY, WILLIAM H., Greenbrier, Ala.—Was born February 22, 1860. His father, Col. Wm. Hundley, was killed during the war. The boyhood days of young Hundley were spent on the farm, where he received a common school education, and at the Universities of Alabama and Kentucky. After leaving school, he took up farming; he joined the Farmers' Union upon its advent into his State, and since that time has devoted much time and attention to the order. At the last State Convention he was elected a delegate to the National Convention.

HICKS, J. C., Centerville, Ala.—Was born on a farm in Bibb County, and secured his education in the country schools and at Howard College. Joined the Union in 1906 and was elected Secretary-Treasurer of his County Union when it was organized. He has assisted in organizing several counties; was a delegate to State meeting in 1907, where he was elected a member of the Executive Committee, and re-elected at Birmingham in 1908, and has devoted much of his time to the Union since 1906.

HORTON, H. H., Russellville.—President and Manager of the Farmers' Union Warehouse. Has been active in making speeches for the warehouse; has made 200 or more and traveled 3,500 miles in work for the warehouses; served as County President two years.

HILL, BEN L., Bridgeport, Ala.—Is a member of the State Executive Committee, representing his part of the State on said board. Hill is loved by his people, not only in his section, but throughout Alabama.

HILL, J. F., Wilsonville, Ala.—Is one of the "old war-horses" in the Farmers' Union; went into the Farmers' Union in its infancy. At the first State Union, he was elected Sergeant-at-Arms, and served two years in succession, and at the fourth annual meeting was re-elected to that honorable position. He is an ideal farmer, a man of wide influence.

HUNT, G. D., Truett, Ala.—Is an organizer in the State; an enthusiastic worker, true man of the cause; was elected at the last State meeting as a delegate to the National Convention. He has had quite a wide experience in the labor field.

HUTTO, G. N., Lincoln, Ala.—Was one of the first men to enlist in the State in the organizing field. He made a successful Organizer, and at the first State meeting was elected Doorkeeper, which position he held for two years.

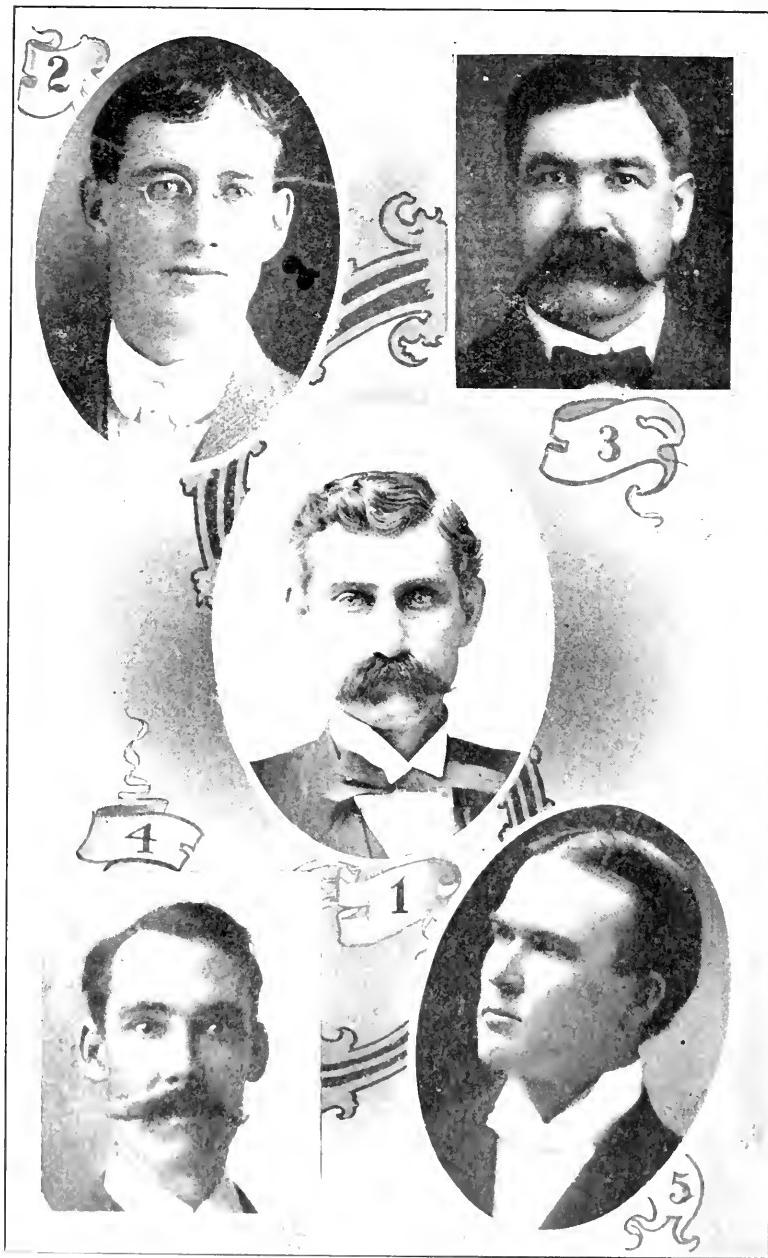
HUGHS, Dr. W. E., Choccolocco, Ala.—Is one of the prime movers in erecting in Anniston the "banner" warehouse owned by the organization in the State. He worked hard to secure same.

JOHNSON, T. F., Birmingham, Ala.—Was born in Lauderdale County, Alabama, September 6, 1869; lived on the farm until he was thirteen years old; moved to Florence County; attended the State Normal College until nineteen years old; worked for the Southern Express Company as messenger and local agent; was in the hardware business a few years; from there went on the farm, and remained ever since that time. He joined the first local Union that was organized in his neighborhood, and has devoted a great portion of his time for the last three years to the interests of the Union, organizing and building Farmers' Union warehouses. Was elected State Secretary-Treasurer of Alabama in 1908, in which capacity he is serving satisfactorily. His books and accounts are kept with diligence, and as a Secretary he is making a good mark.

KELSOE, J. W., Enterprise, Ala.—Vice President Alabama State Union: was born September 8, 1860, and is a native of Alabama. Joined the Farmers' Union as a charter member of his local; was elected President of the Coffee County Union when it was organized; was a delegate to the State meeting at Andalusia, 1907, and again at Birmingham, in 1908; was elected Vice-President of Alabama State Union at Birmingham. He has served as a member of the County Board of Education of his county, where he has worked for the upbuilding of the rural schools. He is an enterprising and successful farmer, and practices what he preaches.

LIGON, P. H., Hunter, Ala.—Has served as President of his county since its organization, three years ago into a County Union. Ligon is one of the old Alliance heroes; was one of the first men in his county to put on foot the warehouse proposition; one of the best warehouses in Alabama.

LONGSHORE, A. P., Columbia, Ala.—Was born on the farm and worked on it until he reached the age of eighteen, when he began



STATE OFFICIALS, MISSISSIPPI DIVISION.

1. G. R. HIGHTOWER, State President.
 2. G. W. RUSSELL, State Secretary-Treasurer.
 3. J. M. BASS, Vice President. 4. H. W. BRADSHAW, State Lecturer.
 5. R. A. N. WILSON, State Chaplain.

teaching to procure money to prepare himself for the law. Served two terms in the Legislature from Shelby County; became a charter member of the local Union. Has been a faithful member of the Union. Is now probate Judge in Shelby County, in which place he has served ten years.

LUNSDEN, W. J., Dutton, Ala.—Is a true and tried Union man. He was Sergeant-at-Arms during the administration of Dr. Duncan.

MCCRARY, C. R., Opelika, Ala.—Was first President of his County Union, in which capacity he served one year; being elected to the Legislature, he resigned as County President. He has been a faithful worker in the Union cause since its beginning in his State.

MAY, D. H., Notasulga, Ala.—Enlisted in the fight in its infancy, and has proven true to the cause every day of his life since; worked hard in securing a warehouse in his town.

MORRIS, W. A. Sulligent, Ala.—President of the Alabama State Union, and a leader of the State from the introduction of the Farmers' Union into it to the present time; was born in Talladega County, Alabama, 1868. His life has been spent upon a farm with the exception of his school days. He was educated in Ringgold, Ga., and in Oxford College, Alabama. He has devoted his time and energy to the demands of Unionism among the farmers of his State. At eighteen years of age, he was initiated into the Alliance by the side of his father, and remained a member until the Alliance ceased to exist. Morris joined the Union as soon as the work began in Alabama, and has been prominently identified with it ever since; has been a delegate to all the State and National meetings; Vice-President of the National Union; member of the National Board of Directors since 1906; State Organizer of Alabama three terms, and State President since 1908. He was a delegate to the Topeka Business Congress, the conference of spinners and growers in Atlanta, and an attendant at every National rally and conference. He is a good speaker and a fine mixer, and has the Union interest at heart. He has been one of the strong supporters of the warehouse system in his State, and did a great deal to help organize the warehouse at Sulligent before the warehouse idea was as prominent as it is now. This warehouse has been a success, and an incentive to other communities to build warehouses for the storage of cotton. He has traveled in every section of his State and visited many other States, where he has made strong

and convincing speeches in the interest of the Union. His work has been very successful, and Alabama under his administration is doing splendidly.

MCLEDDERRY, G. T., Talladega, Ala.—Delegate to the International Cotton Congress held in Vienna, Austria, in 1907; delegate to the first National meeting held at Texarkana, Texas; has attended several National meetings since. A prosperous farmer; in October, 1905, he furnished the State Union plans by which the Union could buy fertilizer in carload lots. In 1906, he traveled thousands of miles, making speeches in the interest of the Cotton Union. He was a promoter of cotton schools, and standard classification of cotton grades; has never held any official position in the Farmers' Union except legislative committeeman for the State of Alabama, and was successful in securing the enactment into law the recommendations made by the Alabama Division held in Bessemer in August, 1906. He is a prominent member of the Methodist Church.

ORR, ROBERT F., Hartsell, Ala.—A member of the State Executive Committee; joined the Union September, 1906; has served as President of his Local and County Union since 1906; delegate to State Union, 1907; elected member of the Executive Committee 1907, and re-elected 1908; has assisted in building a warehouse in his town, and is a good and faithful worker.

POWELL, JOHN W., Jasper, Ala.—Has organized more than twenty locals, made about 200 speeches; has served as County President of Walker County for two years.

PARKER, P. F., Arab, Ala.—Was born on a farm in East Tennessee, November, 26, 1864. At two years of age his parents moved to Kentucky, and four years later to Sharp County, Arkansas. At eight years of age, he came to Limestone County, Alabama, his father having died two years before in Arkansas. He learned to read over a pine knot fire, and while doing so, received twenty cents per day as a farm laborer. He joined the Farmers' Union in Marshall County, and was chosen President when the County Union was organized, and at the second meeting made a speech, advising each County Union to own and operate a warehouse; was elected State Business Agent for Alabama when the State Union was organized, and served in that capacity till 1908. Parker has been an attendant at all the State meetings in his State, nearly all the National meetings held since the organization of the National Union. March 5, 1907, he was made National Business

Agent of the F. E. and C. U. of A. As a member of the Union and as Business Agent of Alabama, he did some splendid work.

PINEGAR, T. E., Chavies, Ala.—Principal Chavies Training School and ex-State Lecturer of the Farmers' Union of Alabama; was born in Illinois January 29, 1872; moved to Tennessee with his father in 1882; married Miss Sarah Hutchens, 1889. By her he was taught to read and write in the winter of 1889-90; afterwards went to school and taught with success. Went to Alabama in 1901; joined the Farmers' Union at the first opportunity and became an Organizer; was elected State Organizer at the organization of the Alabama State Union, and at the next annual convention was re-elected. He was a delegate to the first national meeting, also to the national meeting held in Atlanta. Pinegar is an eloquent speaker; has spoken to many very large crowds. He conducted an educational campaign one summer in Georgia. He is a fine debater. He resigned as State Lecturer and accepted the principalship of Sand Mountain Institute; served one year and resigned and accepted principalship of the Chavies Training School. He still lectures some for the Farmers' Union.

PEARSON, J. M., Florence, Ala.—Ex-Vice-President of Alabama; was born September 8, 1863, on a farm near Florence. He is familiar with all the hardships and privations of country life. To-day he is a very enthusiastic advocate of better roads, schools, and everything that tend to the social and economic welfare of our agricultural population. He was a member of the National Cotton Committee and was placed at Memphis, where he remained for some time, looking after the interests of the company. He is a prosperous farmer and a member of the Methodist Church.

ROBINSON, J. J., Jr., Lafayette, Ala.—A member of the State Executive Committee; has been for some time in this position; has been delegate to national meetings.

SORRELL, J. W., Jemison, Ala.—Is one of the first men to enlist in his county, being sent to the first State meeting of Alabama as a delegate from said county. He was there elected on the Board of the State Executive Committee, and served in that position for two years. In his county he is looked upon as one of the most ideal farmers in the country; a man who has the confidence and respect of his entire county. Last year he was one of the prime movers in inaugurating a county fair at Chilton, his county seat, which proved more than a success; served three years as County Business Agent; is chairman of Board of Directors of two warehouses in his county, and director in a fertilizer factory.

SNOW, JOHN, Oxford, Ala.—Served his county for the first two years as President of said county; one of the prime movers in helping to secure a Union warehouse in Anniston; was honored by his county as a delegate to the past two State meetings. Also went as a delegate to the International Spinners' Convention from his county, held in the city of Atlanta, in 1907.

STEVENSON, CAPTAIN, Notasulga, Ala.—Has the honor of serving his county for the past twelve years as Superintendent of Education. One of the bright and brainy men of the State; a true Union man. Up in years; also up on the agricultural interests of our country. No man in his section of the State can be spoken more highly of than he.

SMITH, J. G., Alpine, Ala.—Is one of the first men to enlist in the organization, serving his county for two years in succession as County President. He was sent as a delegate to the State meeting in Andalusia, 1907.

SPRADLEY, N. B., Cropwell.—Joined the Union 1905; was elected President of St. Clair County 1905, and has been re-elected at every meeting since; has been a member of the Grange and the Alliance, and is a hard worker for the Union.

SANDERSON, WILLIAM M., Vina.—President Marion County for two terms; has worked for the success of the Produce Company at Birmingham; his work has been well done.

STAPP, J. L., Furnbank, Ala.—Organizer; has traveled 2,130 miles by rail, and 1,760 miles by private conveyance; has organized 57 locals and made 115 speeches.

THORNTON, J. A., Talladega, Ala.—He was placed at the head of the cotton selling department in the fall and winter of 1907. One of the old landmarks of his county; a man who has the entire confidence of his people.

WORLEY, J. A., Cordova, Ala.—Ex-President of the Alabama State Union; was born in Virginia 61 years ago. He removed from the State of his nativity to Alabama in 1883, where he engaged in fruit growing and farming. He joined the Farmers' Union soon after it entered Alabama, and was the first organizer to be commissioned by E. J. Cook, then in charge of the work. This was in October, 1904. In March, 1905, he, with E. J. Cook, began the publication of *The Union Educator*. In August, 1905, when the State Union was organized, he was elected its first Presi-

dent, and was again elected in 1906. He refused to allow his name to be used for re-election at the third convention.

WILSON, JOHN H., Oxford.—Has been an active member and always ready to work; was prominent in the days of the Alliance as a worker in that order; was a delegate to Little Rock, Memphis, and Ft. Worth meetings; is a director of the Union warehouse of his county; is an ex-State Executive Committeeman.

WALLACE, J. C., Athens, Ala.—Is an enthusiastic member of the Farmers' Union; was a delegate to the last State meeting. He was elected Chaplain of the organization at that meeting.

WYATT, J. N., Siluria, Ala.—Joined the Farmers' Union October, 1905; delegate to State meeting at Andalusia; delegate-at-large to International Spinners' Conference, 1907; delegate to State meeting at Birmingham; delegate to New Orleans, November 19, 1908.

WILLIAMS, W. H., Grove Hill, Ala.—Has organized fourteen local Unions; has traveled 1,500 miles, and made fifty speeches and is still pushing the work.

ZORN, GEORGE W., Baker Hill, Ala.—Organized Barbour County; assisted in organizing and building the Clayton County warehouse; was President of the Barbour County Union for two years, and President of the Union Warehouse Company one term.

ARKANSAS.

AUSTIN, A. R., Gilkey, Ark.—Was a charter member of the first local organized in Yell County; was a delegate to the County Union when same was organized, and was elected its Secretary-Treasurer, which position he held for four years; was a delegate to his County Union and to the organization of the State Union at Hot Springs. When the State Union met in Little Rock the following August, he was elected a member of the State Executive Committee, and held that position for three years. He has been a worker.

ARMSTRONG, REV. J. G., Brundidge, Ark.—Ex-Chaplain of the State Union; did organizing in Arkansas, Mississippi, and North Carolina.

BATTON, J. T., Ex-President of Arkansas State Union, Tuckerman.—Was born in Carroll County, Tennessee, May 10, 1846. He grew up during the war, and hence his educational advantages

were limited, but he studied at night and fitted himself to teach. He has been a lifelong farmer, helping to make fifty-three crops, and is still able to work in the field. He joined the Farmers' Union when it first came in his county, and was elected President of his local, and when the County Union was organized, was elected President of that; shortly afterward being elected State President. He served in this capacity for practically two terms, having been elected at Hot Springs, April, 1905, when the Union was organized, and again at Little Rock, August, 1905.

BRODNAX, F. W., Vanduzer, Ark.—Was born in Alabama in 1848. His father moved to Arkansas in 1851, and settled in Ouachita County, where the subject of this sketch grew up and has resided since. Taught school for several years, and filled the place of County Surveyor. Served in the Arkansas Legislature in 1893-95. Was a member of the Grange as long as it existed, and became a member of the Farmers' Union shortly after it was organized, and has been President of his local since it was formed. At the State Convention of 1908 was made a member of the State Executive Committee. In that office is doing all he can to advance the interests of the work.

BULGIER, HENRY N., Hope, Ark.—Came from Texas, and was one of the first organizers appointed by Turner. He was an active worker from the start, and organized the second local in the State, in Hempstead County. He was later made Chairman of the Executive Committee, and was employed by Ben L. Griffin as first assistant book-keeper in the State office, where his counsel aided in shaping the first organization work of the State Union.

BLAYLOCK, S. M., Colt, Ark.—Ex-President of the County Union of his county; has been an active and influential worker from the start; has represented his county in the State meetings; has been a delegate to the National Union.

BURGE, L. M., Springdale, Ark.—Member of the State Executive Committee, and President and General Manager of the Arkansas Fruit Bureau of the F. E. & C. U. of A.; an intelligent man, and a business man.

BOWERS, JOHN, SR., Jacksonville, Ark.—President of the Arkansas Division of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America; elected at the last State meeting of the Arkansas Division; a prominent farmer and a firm believer in the principles of the Farmers' Union; has attended as a delegate a number of conventions. He was born July 24, 1825. He attended the com-

mon schools about ten months; a member of the Baptist Church; was a member of the Grange and Alliance; was President of the Lonoke Warehouse Association.

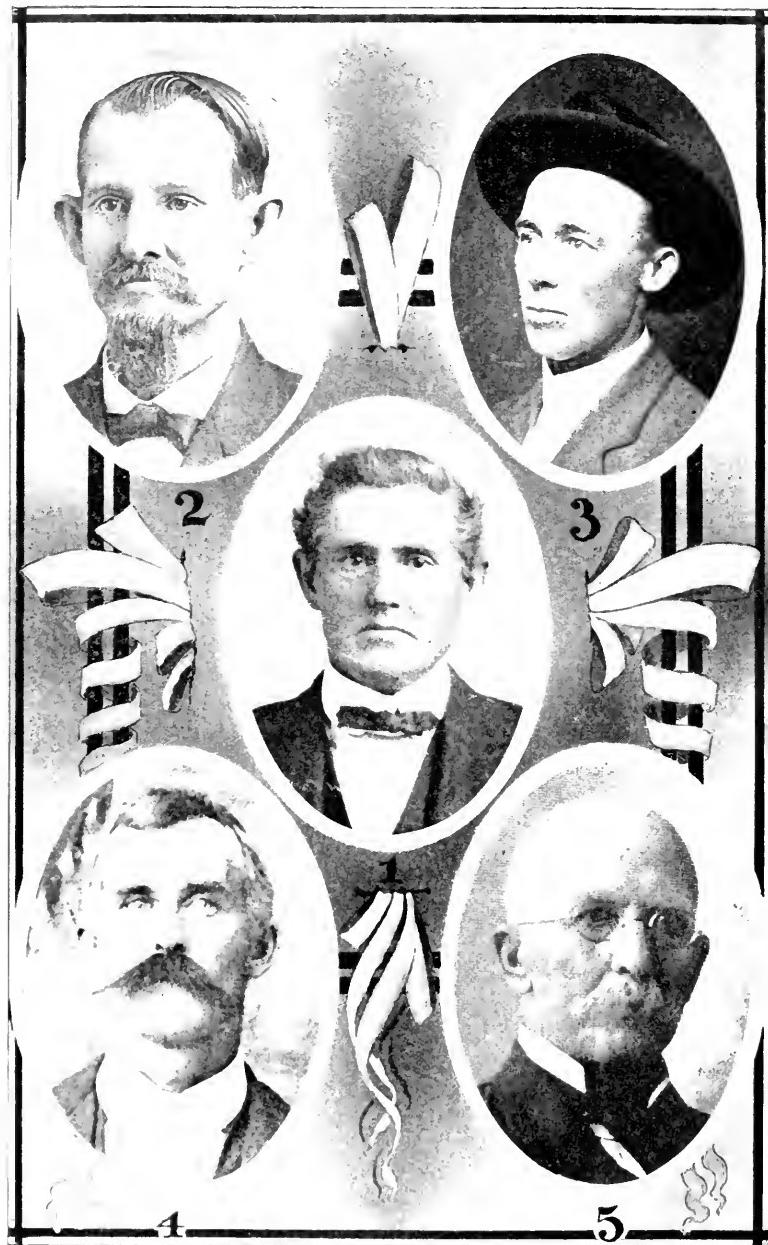
BIGGS, REV. WM. ELI, M.D., Amity, Ark.—Formerly of Pike City, Arkansas; was born in Amity, Arkansas, January, 1862; was educated in the common schools of the country; graduated from the American Medical College of St. Louis, Missouri, March 3, 1885. The doctor is a writer of reputation on theological questions and political economy; was a member of the Farmers' Alliance and held several offices in that organization; joined the Union at the first opportunity; has held office of President, Lecturer, and Chaplain in his local, and Lecturer and Chaplain of his County Union, and Business Agent of District Union; represented Pike County in the organization of the Arkansas State Union at Hot Springs; was Lecturer for all of Arkansas south of the Arkansas River for one year; was a delegate to the first National Convention at Texarkana, and was member of the Constitutional Committee; was a delegate to the Memphis Convention, and was Chairman of the Co-operative Cotton Mill Committee. He has been an enthusiastic worker in the Union.

BLACKFORD, JOHN A., Jonesboro, Ark.—Was a charter member of the first local organized in Craighead County, in February, 1903. In April of the same year, the Craighead County Union was formed, and he was elected Conductor, serving one year, when he was elected Vice-President, and a year later was elected a member of the County Executive Committee, and is still a member. In April, 1904, the Arkansas State Union was organized, and he was elected Conductor of the State organization. He is a strong and tireless worker for the Union, and is always ready to serve it at any time. Has been Conductor of National Union.

BRADFORD, H., Nashville, Ark.—Who has ever been active from the start and whose work has been done without the expectation of position or favors.

BILLINGSLEY, G. A., Arkansas.—Delegate to the National Convention; has been County Lecturer and Organizer.

COLE, W. A., Little Rock, Ark.—Joined the organization in the spring of 1906, and immediately assumed a prominent place in an effort to educate and build up the interest of its members; was elected as Secretary to the Farmer's Union Fruit Growers' Association, which by hard work and co-operation was a success. It is said that this organization obtained through co-operation 75 per



STATE OFFICIALS AND EX STATE OFFICIALS, MISSISSIPPI AND FLORIDA - DIVISIONS.

1. W. H. KOLB, Mississippi, Chairman State Executive Committee.
2. J. M. HARVAY, Mississippi, Member State Executive Committee.
3. ORANGE HARRINGTON, Mississippi, Member State Executive Committee.
4. G. N. TRAWICK, Florida, Ex State President.
5. J. L. COLLINS, Mississippi, State Business Agent.

cent more for fruit than had ever been received by the growers. He was then elected as Cotton Agent for the State of Arkansas, and is now serving as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Farmers' Union Fruit Bureau for the State.

CRAIG, A. J., Jamestown, Ark.—Ex-member of the State Executive Committee and President of the Independence County Union. A successful farmer, and has done much work in building the Union in his county.

COPELAND, B. M., Unity, Ark.—Has been a worker as President of Howard County Union. His work has been of great value.

CORBETT, M. A., Jacksonville, Ark.—Lecturer for Lonoke County two years; very successful worker, and did State lecturing work successfully.

COMPTON, W. L., Compton, Ark.—President of the Hempstead County Union; has done much good for the organization.

DOYLE, J. D., Portia, Ark.—Was born and raised in Lawrence County, Arkansas; obtained a common school education; entered the profession of teaching; was an active member of the Agricultural Wheel in its day. Also joined the Union in June, 1905; was elected local Lecturer. In 1905 was elected County Lecturer of Lawrence County. At the State Union, in 1906, he was elected a member of the Legislative Committee. In August, 1907, was elected by the State Union as a member of the Executive Committee; attended all the State Unions and many important meetings, also the National Conference at Atlanta, Georgia; made a strong fight before the Legislature for the four agricultural schools; is now a member of the Executive Board of his county, also Lecturer of his county and a member of the Commercial Committee of the Union.

DICKINSON, M. S., Conway, State Secretary-Treasurer of Arkansas.—Born on a farm in Greene County, Arkansas, May 11, 1879; attended the public schools of the county until fourteen years of age, then attended the Thompson Classical Institute at Paragould; later took a course in the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, and the Hospital Medical College at Memphis. Since reaching maturity, has been engaged in various occupations—as farming, teaching in rural, city and private schools, salesman, politics (Democrat), having served as County Examiner of Schools in Greene County four years; President of the Northeast Teachers' Association, also President of County Teachers'

Association; joined the Union during the summer of 1905, at Lorado, Greene County; served as President of Marmaduke Local Union, Marmaduke District Union, and the Greene County Union; elected Secretary of the Arkansas State Union to succeed Ben L. Griffin, August 5, 1908. He is a good speaker and a splendid writer, and his varied experience makes him ready at all times to defend the Union cause. He belongs to a number of secret orders, in which he takes an active interest. He is, at the present time, ably editing the *Arkansas Union Tribune*.

DAVIS, ALEX., Beebe, Ark.—Has the honor of being one of the first persons in White County to advocate unionism. In the early history of the order, he served as County Lecturer, devoting as much time as possible to the work; was a delegate to the first State Convention, and assisted in organizing the State Union in Arkansas; was called to assist the National Secretary, R. H. McCulloch, two years ago, and is now occupying that position, having the distinction of being the first assistant to that important office, and is serving his second term as President of the White County Union. Davis makes a fine Assistant Secretary.

DEMPSEY, I. K., Magazine, Ark.—County President of Logan County for two years, and a very influential worker for the cause; has done as much for Logan County Union as any man in it.

ELLIS, J. I., Morristown, Ark.—Ex-State Business Agent, and said to be a successful farmer.

GRIFFIN, BEN L., Conway, Ark.—The subject of this sketch was born on a farm in Perry County, Alabama, May 22, 1863; moved with the family from Alabama to Lee County, Mississippi, 1869; removed to Alabama, 1870, where he lived until sixteen years of age. At this time he was unable to read or write. At sixteen, he returned to Mississippi, and worked as a farm hand. In 1887, by the assistance of friends, he entered Banner College, where he remained for some time. After leaving school, he taught for some years. He took an active part in the Alliance during its existence, and when the Union was organized in the State of Arkansas, where he had moved from Mississippi, he joined and took an active part from the beginning. When the State Union was organized in 1905, he was elected State Secretary and Treasurer. Re-elected 1906, and again 1907; declined to allow his name to be used for re-election in 1908; has attended all the State meetings, where he took a leading part, and has been a delegate to many of the National Conventions, where he served on many important committees.

While Secretary and Treasurer of Arkansas he owned and edited the *Arkansas Union Tribune*; has visited many State meetings in other States, where he was invited to make addresses. Elected member of National Legislative Committee, 1907. He is now preparing a history of the Union in Arkansas.

GLASS, J. M., Swifton, Ark.—Was a member of first Executive Committee and an active worker.

HOLT, J. T. M., Bingen, Ark.—Ex-Secretary of the Hempstead County Union, and has been an active worker as Organizer and Lecturer in his county; is very highly esteemed by his people; has also been Vice-President of the State Union; is now member of the Arkansas Legislature.

HAM, W. T., Van Buren, Ark.—Ex-Vice-President of the Arkansas State Union. For three terms President of his County Union. Twice County Lecturer; has attended four National Conventions, four State Conventions. Has done quite a lot of organizing. A good worker.

JONES, J. N., Vice-President, Brockett, Ark.—Was born at Patton, Missouri, July 11, 1853. He is descended from Virginia and Kentucky pioneers. His boyhood was spent on a farm, and at Cape Girardeau, where he went to school; and as a young man, he was engaged in railroading and herding stock in Texas. In 1874, he engaged in lumber business in Arkansas, with farming as a side line. In 1882 he began the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1885. He practiced law for a few years, but the call of the woods and the farm appealed too strongly, and he relinquished his practice and entered exclusively into farming in 1895. He became identified with the Farmers' Union in 1906, and has devoted no small part of his time and energy to its cause.

KEMP, MISS BESSIE, Wilmar, Ark.—Was employed by J. S. Turner as stenographer up to the date of the State Union, and was then appointed as Assistant Secretary by Ben L. Griffin, which place she held with credit to herself and satisfaction to the order for two years. She was untiring in her zeal for the cause.

LEWIS, J. B., Jonesboro, Ark.—Ex-State President and member of many fraternal organizations; a strong and earnest advocate of labor unions; was for a long time a locomotive engineer, but is at the present time residing on his farm near Jonesboro, Arkansas.

LYBRAND, J. W., Sheridan, Ark.—Was a member of the first Legislative Committee in 1907; has been a hard worker; was

County President of Grant County one year; has served his people as County Judge.

LEWIS, H. BEECHER, Brinkley, Ark.—Was first organizer for the Farmers' Union east of the White River; organized the first local in that part of the State at Shiloh on the 17th day of September, 1904, and since that time has been constantly at work for the Union; was District Lecturer, third district, 1905; appointed one of the State Lecturers, 1905; elected State Lecturer, 1906, and served till 1907; has organized 172 local Unions, and 17 County Unions; has visited every one of the 75 counties in the State; has spoken in Tennessee, Texas, and Missouri; has made more than one thousand speeches; has traveled many thousand miles; has attended all the State Conventions and the National Convention, and is till actively at work.

MCCULLOCH, R. H., Beebe, Ark.—National Secretary-Treasurer of the Farmers' Union. Was born in Tennessee, and moved to Arkansas before the war. Here he engaged in farming and other pursuits. He is a fine farmer, and takes an especial pride in his farm. He is a prominent Mason, and was formerly Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Arkansas. He has been Clerk of the Court for his county. His family have long been prominent in State affairs. His brother is Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Arkansas, and another member of his family was the celebrated Confederate General McCulloch. He was elected National Secretary-Treasurer of the first Texarkana meeting, in 1905; re-elected in 1906, 1907, and 1908, having held the office continuously since the organization of the National Union. He is one of the finest bookkeepers in the country, and his books and the records in his office are models of neatness and correctness. All are exceptionally fine and perfectly kept. McCulloch is quiet and retiring, and his work is perfectly satisfactory in every particular. He lives on his farm at Beebe, Arkansas. He has for his assistant, Alex. Davis, who is a model in his line of work, and the two together run an office that is unexcelled for business methods.

MOBLEY, H. S., Prairie Grove, Ark.—Born in Tampa, Fla., July, 1860; lived there till 1879; moved with his mother to Sharp County, Arkansas; lived there and in Texas County, Missouri, until 1880; was educated at Irving Slade, Arkansas, and Morrisville, Missouri. He has been connected with the farm every year of his life but four; lived at Coraig, Clay County, Arkansas, until September, 1904; served at Prairie Grove, Arkansas. He is always interested in educational and moral questions; is known by

friends as having convictions, and stands for them; joined the Union in 1906; took part in organizing First Growers of Northwest Arkansas District organization; organized continuously since then at his own expense, and practically without salary. When Northwest District was merged into the State Bureau, he was chosen Secretary-Treasurer; has perfected and put into operation several useful plans for the local's benefit; organized the produce business of his district, which is now in operation in the State. He is now serving on the Legislative Committee of the State for the passage of the agricultural school bill and other measures of interest to the Union.

MERRITT, MISS MEAH M., Fayetteville, Ark.—The subject of this sketch is the versatile editor of the *Arkansas Sentinel*, which was two years ago adopted as the medium of the Farmers' Union of Washington County, and last year the Northern District Committee, composed of eight counties, followed the example of the Washington County Union, also adopted the *Sentinel* as their organ. Miss Merritt is making a mark as a writer and as a champion of better educational advantages for the country boys and girls. She was the only woman delegate to the Arkansas State Convention in 1908, and was elected delegate to the National Convention at Fort Worth. Here she was made Chairman of the National Committee on Education. The report read by Miss Merritt recommended that there be less book teaching and more training of the eye and hand in our schools. She is now a member of the County Educational Board. The work that she has done, and is still doing, is of immense advantage to the cause of education in her State, and in the future will tell for good. She is devoting her energies and her talents to those who need help.

MCCUISTIN, J. F., State Doorkeeper.—Is a native of Izard County, Arkansas, and together with nine others, joined the first local Union that he had an opportunity to; was elected Secretary of the Union, and shortly afterward Lecturer of Independence County; moved to Jackson County and was elected County Secretary; served two years and was elected County President, which position he now holds; was manager of the Farmers' Union Warehouse at Newport, and handled more than \$100,000 worth of cotton the first season; was elected Doorkeeper of the State Union, 1907, and re-elected, 1908. July, 1908, was placed in charge of division of the State educational campaign.

MILNER, DR. N. C., McNeil, Ark.—Was one of the first Executive Committee, and took an active part in the work; was one of the first delegates to the National Union, December, 1905.

MARTIN, L. F., Des Arc, Ark.—At one time District Lecturer.

MASON, REV. W. B., Guy, Ark.—Chaplain of the first State Union.

NIXON, O. P., Clinton, Ark.—Ex-Member of the State Executive Committee.

OLIPHANT, J. D., Agnes, Ark.—Elected Secretary first Executive Committee and Supervisor first District; did quite a lot of organizing and lecturing.

PALMER, J. COLEMAN, Blackton, Ark.—Ex-member of the State Executive Committee; has been an enthusiastic worker in the cause since the beginning of the organization in his State.

ROGERS, J. E., Magnolia, Ark.—Was born in Columbia County, Arkansas, March 14, 1865, and was raised on the farm. Received common school education. At the age of eighteen joined the Agricultural Wheel, and afterward the Alliance. Was among the first to join the Farmers' Union in his State, being a charter member of his local. Served as local Secretary-Treasurer three years, and is now President. Served one year as a member of the County Executive Committee, and is now Vice-President of the County Union. Was his county's delegate to the first State Convention in Little Rock, in 1905, and again in 1907, when he was elected a member of the State Executive Committee, and re-elected in 1908. Has attended four National meetings. Believes the Union is the greatest organization of farmers ever launched.

REECE, L. A., Sharon Springs, Ark.—A staunch leader from Hempstead County; was elected as a member of the first Executive Committee; has held the office of President in his County Union. A hard worker.

SMITH, J. GUY, New London, Ark.—Has a record as an organizer. Beginning in his State while the Union was in its infancy, he was one of the first to enlist in the work. He joined the third Union organized in Arkansas, and took the field as organizer at once. He organized eighteen counties in his State; was sent from there to Louisiana, where he organized two parishes. He was then given one of the two districts in Arkansas. He was appointed State Organizer for Florida, and remained there till the State was organized. From Florida he went to Kentucky, where he organized till the fall of 1908. From Kentucky, he went to Tennessee in the capacity of an organizer. But few men have organized as many local Unions as Smith.

SNELL, R. B., Adonas, Ark.—Has traveled through the State for four years, making speeches almost daily; traveled more than 5,000 miles; was assistant editor of the *Arkansas Union Tribune* from October, 1906, to October, 1907; also editor of the Union Department of the *Courier Democrat*, of Pope County. In all these years he has been active and energetic, and has done good and faithful work.

SORRELL, J. W., Jonesboro, Ark.—Served three years as Business Agent of his county; was elected a member of the State Executive Committee when the State Union was organized, and re-elected at the next meeting. He has been a good worker.

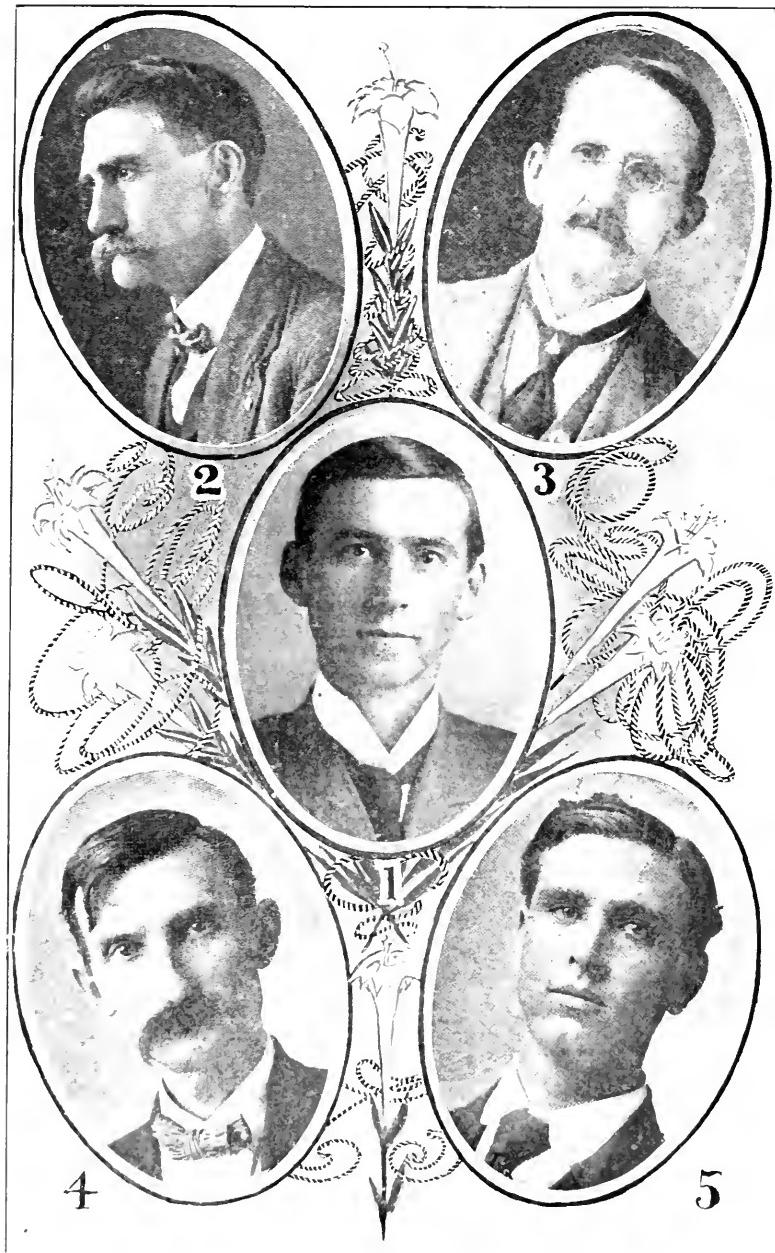
SWIFT, C. A., Lamar, Ark.—County President and delegate to last National Convention.

TUNSTALL, D. P., Salem, Ark.—The subject of this sketch has been prominently identified with the Union movement in the State of Arkansas since its introduction there, having joined in 1905; was a delegate to the County Union; by the County Union elected delegate to the State Union, and by the State Union to the National Union at Texarkana. In February, 1906, the State President having resigned, D. P. Tunstall was chosen by the Executive Committee to serve out his unexpired term. He has served three years as County President. In his speeches he has stressed education and co-operation.

TATE, W. F., Camden, Ark.—A very active leader in the Farmers' Union in the State of Arkansas. A big, broad-minded, intelligent man; is not looking for any office; refused to let the last State Convention elect him as its President.

VANDIKE, G. L., Magnett, Ark.—First Doorkeeper of the State.

WALKER, W. D., Driggs, Ark.—Has been a farmer all his life. Became a charter member of his local at its organization in February, 1905. Served two years as Secretary-Treasurer of his local. In March of that year the Boone County Union was formed, and he was elected Secretary-Treasurer, and served four years. In May, 1907, was elected to attend the first session of the Arkansas Cotton School at Conway, and to manage the warehouse at Magazine. For two seasons served as weigher for the Union for all cotton sold in the town. At the State Convention in 1908, was elected on the Executive Committee, and was made the secretary. Walker made a very fine County Secretary.



PROMINENT WORKERS, MISSISSIPPI DIVISION.

1. T. R. PALMER, Ex Vice-President of State Union.
2. M. A. BROWN, Ex-Member State Executive Committee.
3. THOMAS S. HAYNIE, Lecturer.
4. T. J. JOHNSON, Ex-Member State Executive Committee.
5. S. A. SHOEMAKE, Ex-Member State Executive Committee.

CHAPTER XXV.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES—CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, FLORIDA.

CALIFORNIA.

HENDERSON, PARIS, Kingsburg, Cal.—First Vice-President of Kansas State Union. Was born in Union County, Indiana, June 14, 1850; moved with his family to Shelby County, Illinois, 1855; emigrated to Kansas, 1872; has been a member of the Grange and Farmers' Alliance in Kansas; joined the Farmers' Union in September, 1906; was elected County President of Osage County shortly after; was elected Vice President of Kansas State Union at the time of organization; moved to California, 1907, and is still active in the work. As a young man, he was a neighbor of Abraham Lincoln. He is untiring in his work and has done much to build up the Union. He was one of the best workers that ever lived in the State of Kansas.

KNEELAND, J. M., Business Agent, Kingsburg, Cal.—Was born February 29, 1872, on a farm near Topeka, Kansas. At eighteen he moved to California, where he now resides. He is engaged in alfalfa farming and fruit growing, owning an alfalfa and fruit farm near Kingsburg. He became a charter member of Kingsburg Local Union No. 3, April, 1906, since which time he has served as President, delegate to National Convention, and Business Agent. As Business Agent, he has been a diligent and faithful worker in securing co-operation markets for fruit and raisins for the farmers of Fresno County. Kingsburg local Union had eleven members to start with, and has grown to a membership of seventy-one or more at the present time.

PARLIER, C. A., Parlier, Cal.—A firm believer in co-operation, an enthusiastic advocate of Farmers' Union principles. A faithful worker.

WELCH, W. W., Kingsburg, Cal.—State Organizer of California and ex-State Business Agent of Mississippi. It is said that he has

lived in every State in the Union. He is a very energetic man, and has had a great deal of experience.

COLORADO.

BREWER, JOHN FRANKLIN, Manzanola, Colo.—Was born March 8, 1866, in DeKalb County, Illinois; emigrated with his parents to Missouri, 1875, where he attended the common schools and later Magee College; removed to Colorado, 1903, and engaged in fruit farming. He became a charter member of his local Union at Manzanola in the autumn of 1907, of which he was made President; was elected Secretary of his County Union when organized, and re-elected December 19, 1908; was a delegate to the State Union, where he assisted in planning a constitution. He was elected Vice-President of the State at this meeting, and still holds the office. He has assisted in the establishment of a Farmers' Co-operative Coal Company at Pueblo.

CALLICOTTE, W. R., Glenwood Springs, Colo.—Chaplain of the Colorado State Union, and delegate to the National Convention.

HOLMES, H. J., Glenwood Springs, Colo.—Editor of *Avalanche Echo*. Part of his paper is devoted to Farmers' Union news.

JOHNSON, MILAS N., Calhan, Colo.—Was born in Clinton County, Indiana, February 14, 1877; graduated at the high school of Columbus, Kansas, in May, 1896; taught school during the next six years; established the *Divide Farmer*, a popular agricultural paper, at Calhan, Colorado, in January, 1907. As editor of this paper, he was a potent factor in the building of the Farmers' Union in Colorado. He was the first Secretary of El Paso County Union, and a delegate to the State Convention when Colorado was admitted into the National Union. At this convention, Johnson received one-half of the votes for State Secretary, but he asked that the office be given to the brother who had the same number of votes. He was elected as the first delegate from Colorado to the National Convention at Fort Worth, and in September, 1908, was chosen Secretary of the Colorado State Union. His motto, "Justice wherever it may lead," describes the ambitions of this worthy worker.

LANG, GEORGE B., President Colorado State Union, Langdon, Colo.—Was born in Green County, Pennsylvania, September 11, 1864; moved while a boy with his parents to Iowa, where he was educated in the common schools of that State. From 1883 to 1890, he engaged in teaching in Missouri; took a special literary course

in Neosho Collegiate Institute; published a paper in 1890, and has owned and published one or more newspapers ever since. He was prominent in the days of the Alliance, being State Organizer for Iowa (1890-1891), and State Secretary and Purchasing Agent (1891-1892); Assistant Journal Clerk, Kansas State Senate (1893); City Attorney, Bokchito, Indian Territory (1904). He moved with his wife and son to Colorado, 1906. He has taken a prominent part in all labor and reform movements, having served as State, District, and County Chairman of these movements. He is at the head of several industries in his State. A member of the Knights of Pythias and the Woodmen of the World; does not belong to any church, but is a member of a society for physical research. He owns and edits the official paper of the Farmers' Union and Knights of Industry; joined the Farmers' Union in 1907, and was elected first State President at Pueblo in 1908. He is prominently connected with many co-operative concerns in his State.

MONTGOMERY, B. F., Meeker, Colo.—Ex-Speaker of the Colorado Legislature. A fine presiding officer; an able speaker; instrumental in having some good laws passed. An early member of the Farmers' Union, and President of his District Union.

MANNING, A. S., Secretary-Treasurer, State Union, Rocky Ford, Colo.—Born on September 15, 1883, in Chicago, and moved to Colorado in 1887, settling with his mother on a claim. In 1907, the Rocky Ford Union was formed, and he joined it. Later he moved his membership to a local nearer his farm, and was elected its President. Later was appointed Treasurer of the State Union. In the first State Convention, in 1908, was elected to that position. Is a stockholder in the Co-operative Coal Company. Has aided in organizing other Union enterprises.

STOVALL, H. S., Ex-Secretary of Colorado, Pueblo, Colo.—Was born on a farm in Hardin County, Kentucky, July 23, 1871; moved with his parents to Gentry County, Missouri, December, 1881; attended the county schools, and McFall High School, and the Normal School at Chillicothe; moved to Rocky Ford, Colorado, November, 1900, and went to farming; joined the Rocky Ford local as a charter member; was its first Secretary; built up a local of over one hundred members in two months. This is now the largest local in the State; was chosen State Secretary when State was organized, which position he now holds. He is a practical and successful farmer.

SAYLES, PARDON, Peyton, Colo.—Born in Ohio in 1845, his family moving to Iowa when he was only three years of age. Was brought up on a farm, and was educated in the common schools. At the age of sixteen ran away from home and enlisted in the Civil War, serving to the end. He was discharged in Atlanta. Returned to Iowa and resumed farming, marrying there. In 1883 moved to Colorado, and owns a big ranch in the shadow of Pike's Peak. He is State Organizer for the Union in Colorado.

SCIAEFFER, H. H., Weldonite, Colo.—Joined the Farmers' Union upon its introduction into his State; was a delegate to the Convention in Pueblo, where the State Union was organized, and was elected a member of the Executive Committee.

VAN DEVENTER, J. W., Sterling, Colo.—Was born in Indiana in 1849, and moved West with his parents while an infant. Graduated from the Kansas Agricultural College in 1886, and is now a newspaper man by profession, devoting his time to that profession. Is State Statistician of the Farmers' Union, and has collected and published many valuable facts concerning the State. He is a strong Union man. He is chief clerk of the Printing Committee of the Colorado General Assembly.

WILSON, F. W., Pueblo, Colo.—The beet growers of the Arkansas Valley became interested in the Union, believing that it would aid them in their fight against the trust, and the Pleasant Valley local was formed, its membership being largely of beet growers. The subject of this sketch was one of the organizers. He was elected a member of the State Board of Directors in 1908. Is an earnest and hard-working member of the organization.

FLORIDA.

ANDERSON, J. R., Union, Fla.—Is a farmer and a Baptist minister. Served last year as State Secretary. He is at present State Chaplain, and is a good worker.

ANDERSON, M. B., Edwards, Fla.—Is a leading farmer of that section, and is a faithful working Union man. He holds a commission as County Organizer, and has done some good work in his territory.

ALLEN, R. J., Live Oak, Fla.—One of the first men of his country to join the Union; was a charter member of the first Union organized. He defends Union principles wherever he goes.

BUCHANAN, A. L., Sopchoppy, Fla.—Is a Baptist preacher and editor of a weekly newspaper. He is at present a member of the Executive Committee. He is a very enthusiastic worker.

CARLISLE, W. M., Gainesville, Fla.—Formerly County Lecturer for Bradford County; delegate to State meeting at Tallahassee when State was organized, where he was elected State Lecturer and delegate to National Convention at Little Rock, Arkansas; traveled about 4,500 miles on lecturing tours in his State.

FALKNER, T. Z., Perry, Fla.—A young farmer full of pluck and energy. He is a pioneer member of the Union in his State; was present when the State was organized.

GUNN, E. O., South Jacksonville, Fla.—Formerly President Bibb County, Georgia, Union. Has been prominent as a Lecturer and Organizer in the State of Georgia. Organized and re-organized sixty locals; traveled about 2,700 miles and made 110 speeches.

HAYES, W. H., Alachua, Fla.—Joined the Union about fifteen months ago; was elected Chairman of Local Executive Committee, then elected Treasurer and Business Manager of Alachua County Stock Company; was elected Secretary of the State Executive Committee in July, and appointed Chairman of the State Cotton Sales Committee by State President in August, 1908; was elected by State Executive Committee a member of the National Cotton Committee at the Tri-State Convention held by the sea island cotton growers in Valdosta. He was appointed Manager and Salesman of that company.

HADDOCK, JAMES, King's Ferry, Fla.—Joined as a charter member of his local Union. Has kept his local Union together, and is still faithfully fighting for Union principles.

JACKSON, J. A., Jasper, Fla.—Has for several years been engaged in teaching in the public schools of his county; is County Superintendent of Schools for that county. He has been active in the work of the Union since its advent into the State. He is now Chairman of the State Executive Committee, and is rendering efficient service. He also serves his county as Secretary-Treasurer.

KNIGHT, M. S., President Florida Division, Lake City, Fla.—Was born in Lowndes County, Georgia, January 14, 1866. His father, Hampton Knight, served with the Confederate army as a soldier during the Civil War. After the war he returned to

Lowndes County and devoted his time to farming. Here on a farm was born M. S. Knight, the subject of this sketch. He was raised on a farm, and had but few school advantages. He attended the neighborhood schools, which were of short duration; taught for two or three months during the winters. From Lowndes County M. S. Knight moved to Columbia County, Florida, in the winter of 1885, where he was a teacher in the public schools for four years. From 1895 to 1899, he was a member of the Board of Public Instruction of Columbia County; was elected representative from Columbia County to the Florida Legislature (1899), and served as a member of the Investigating Commission appointed by the Legislature to inquire into the doings of the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund. He was elected President of the Florida Division of the Farmers' Union at Lake City, Florida, July 16, 1908. He is a farmer and resides on his farm, eight miles north of Lake City. He is also trustee of the Columbia Baptist College at Lake City.

LOCKE, S. W., State Lecturer and Organizer, Bonifay, Fla.—The subject of this sketch, S. W. Locke, was elected State Lecturer and Organizer for the Florida Division at the State meeting held in Lake City, 1908. He has traveled throughout the State, making speeches and getting his organizing force into shape. He is well qualified to fill the office which he now holds, and under his administration Florida has been greatly benefited, and the cause of the Union very much advanced. He devotes his time and energy to the upbuilding of the Union in his State.

MIZELL, O. L., Dukes, Fla.—Ex-State Business Agent of Florida; Delegate to the State Union at Tallahassee, where he was elected Business Agent; has been working along the lines of equitable prices for fertilizers; has done much to organize the warehouse system in his State. At present he is Secretary-Treasurer of the Union Sea Island Company, with headquarters at Savannah.

PLEDGER, C. E., Marianna, Fla.—Has been identified very prominently with the growth of the Union in the State, he having served one year as Chairman of the Executive Committee, and is now Vice-President of the State. He is one of the leading farmers of Jackson County, and is a progressive man. He is connected with the management of the cotton warehouse at Cottondale, and has been active in pushing the interest of the Union both in season and out of it.

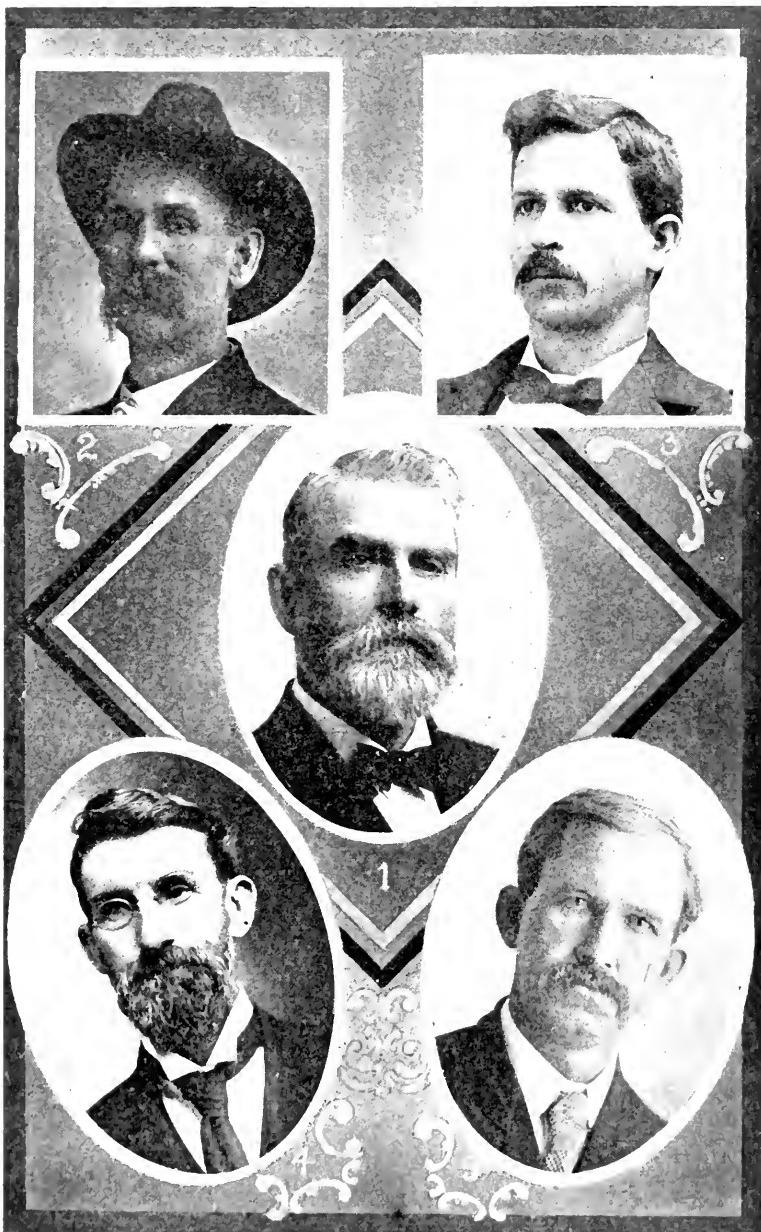
PUMPHREY, J. R., Wewahitchka, Fla.—Secretary-Treasurer of the Florida State Union; elected at the State Convention of 1908; is a teacher, and said to be a good teacher. He is an active worker.

SHEPPARD, J. L., Member Executive Committee, Greensboro, Fla.—Was elected County Business Agent, and has served in that capacity till the present time; a member of the State Executive Committee, and doing all in his power to make a success of the work in and for the Union.

TRAYWICK, G. N., Ex-State President, Mayo, Fla.—The ex-State President of Florida was born in Henry County, Alabama, March 12, 1861. His father, Louis Traywick, died in the Confederate army. Young Traywick's mother moved to LaFayette County in 1868, where she died, March, 1874. He was a leading member of the Farmer's Alliance. When the Farmers' Union came around, was among the first in his county to join; was elected County President and County Business Agent. When the convention met at Tallahassee, July, 1907, to organize the State Union, he was elected President, and served one year. He is a farmer and preacher; has had some experience in real estate and timber.

VON ELEXSON, ERIC, Laurel Hill, Fla.—Editor and proprietor of *Our Southern Home*, and Member of the State Executive Committee; also President of the Florida-Alabama District Union; has always attended all of his meetings; is a very active worker.

WISE, E. R., Live Oak, Fla.—County Organizer; has organized a number of local Unions and made speeches in every section of his county. He is one of the strongest Union men in his section of the State.



STATE OFFICIALS AND EX STATE OFFICIALS, SOUTH CAROLINA DIVISION.

1. B. HARRIS, President of State Union.
2. R. F. CARDEN, Ex State Secretary-Treasurer.
3. A. J. A. PERRITT, Vice President.
4. T. T. WALKERFIELD, Ex Vice-President State Union.
5. J. WHITNER REID, State Secretary-Treasurer.

CHAPTER XXVI.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES—GEORGIA.

ANDERSON, J. D., Woodstock, Ga.—Joined as a charter member of the ninth local organization in the State; this was May, 1904; was elected Vice-President of Cherokee County Union when it was organized, May, 1904; December, 1904, was elected County President; May, 1905, was sent as a delegate to the State Union, which was organized at Thomaston. He was elected a member of the Executive Committee at this meeting, a position that he has held ever since. He has been active in the organizing work, and wise in his counsel whenever and wherever the Executive Committee has had occasion to meet.

ALDAY, G. B., Iron City, Ga.—One of the most patient men in the organization; has worked and succeeded in keeping in line with co-operation channels against many difficulties, his county having few locals; believes in co-operation; has been County Business Agent ever since his county was organized; is one of the most patient and hard-working men that is to be found in South Georgia.

ALLEN, T. C., Broxton, Ga.—President Coffee County Farmers' Union; now serving his third term as President of that county; joined Rudy Branch local, 1905; served as President of said local three years; has made some sacrifices.

BARRETT, CHARLES SIMON, National President, Union City, Ga.—The National President of the Farmers' Union was born on a farm in Pike County, Georgia, January 28, 1866, and was educated in the country schools of Georgia, and the colleges of Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. After returning from college, he settled in Pike County, Georgia, where he married Miss Alma Rucker, November 5, 1891. They have five children, Paul, Charles, Howell, Leland, and Gaines. He joined the Farmers' Alliance at the first opportunity; he also joined the Farmers' Union the first opportunity. He was twice elected President of the Georgia Division of the Farmers' Union, and in 1906 he was

elected President of the National Union. He was re-elected in 1907, and again in 1908; has never held any political office. He has always believed that he could do more good for his people in the private walks of life than it would be possible for him to do as a public official.

BARRON, JARED LEE, Union City, Ga.—One of the type of virile, able young men drawn into the Union by strong zeal for its principles, and an earnest desire to help better the condition of the laboring masses. That he has been a potent factor in the organization in his native State, is amply proven by his steady rise in the organization's counsels. That still wider fields of usefulness are open to him is assured by his vigorous young manhood and his sterling worthiness of character. He was born near Atwater, Upson County, Georgia, June 8, 1883. His father was a farmer, but a progressive man and an advocate of good schools and general progress. He instilled into his boy the idea of doing something, and that idea struck deep and took root. Young Barron attended a school taught by Charles S. Barrett, at Atwater, and a friendship strong and enduring and helpful grew up between them. At the age of 19 he began teaching himself, following that occupation several years. Part of that time he worked on the farm. He was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Georgia Division of the Farmers' Union in May, 1906, and served with ability in that capacity to January 1, 1908, when he resigned to accept the place of secretary and treasurer of the Union Phosphate Company of Georgia. For two years he published the *Farmers' Union News*, and through hard work built up a strong paper with a good circulation. He was teaching when the paper was started, and he walked to Thomaston every week to mail his papers out, then back to take up the duties of the schoolroom. He has been three times a delegate to national conventions, and each time served on important committees. He was a member of the committee of five that drafted the present National Constitution at Texarkana in September, 1906, an unusual honor to be conferred on a man so young. But those who placed him there knew his worth and his sound judgment in big matters, and he "made good" along with the ablest of them. He was one of the delegates from Georgia representing the Farmers' Union in the National Co-operative Business Congress in Topeka, Kansas, in October, 1906, where he again attracted attention by his clear views and sound judgment in important matters. He is a member of the Odd Fellows, Woodmen of the World, Junior Order, Knights of Pythias, a Master Mason, Knight Templar and a Shriner. He is one of

the really strong young men in the Union, and his career is bright with prospects.

BODENHAMMER, J. E., Union City, Ga.—Is Business Manager of the *Farmers' Union News*, Union City, Ga., and has spent his life in building up printing plants and demanding the Union Label. He is an enthusiastic Union man, and belongs to both the Farmers' Union and the Typographical Union; was a delegate to the Little Rock meeting; has been a delegate to most of the State meetings, and was a delegate to the International Typographical Convention held in Boston in 1908, representing Atlanta Typographical Union No. 48. He has spent much time in lecturing and organizing. In 1908, he was selected the fraternal delegate to represent the National Farmers' Union at the International Federation Convention held at Norfolk, Va.

BROWN, J. P. H., Augusta, Ga.—One of the leading Union members of Richmond County. He is a persistent and patient worker in uplifting the farmers of his county; has been County President of the Grange and the Alliance, and was President of Richmond County Farmers' Union. He is working to get the people to raise home supplies and to co-operate. He says it is an axiom that: "Unless the farmer makes his supplies on the farm, it makes no difference if cotton brings 15 cents, the farmer will be no better off."

BIRDSONG, J. S., Prominent Leader, Mayfield, Ga.—As Secretary-Treasurer of his local Union, he has done good and faithful work. By his efforts, the Union has been kept alive in his section.

BRAKE, L. A., Faithful Worker, Crawfordville, Ga.—Has traveled thousands of miles, making speeches and talking Union. He says that he has talked Farmers' Union till others say that he is a "crank" upon the subject, but cranks like him turn things over. He has done splendid work whenever and wherever he has gone.

BRUMBLEOE, W. D., Barnsville, Ga.—Has been a very active member of the Union. He has visited a number of rallies and did a lot of work in a quiet way. While he has never made many speeches, he has never lost an opportunity to put in a good word for the Union cause in every place where he has gone. His energies have been devoted to the forward movement of the Union.

BURNS, J. W., Adairsville, Ga.—Ex-Doorkeeper Georgia State Union. Member of the Board of County Commissioners of Bartow County, and full-blooded Union man. He has spent consider-

able time and some money in his work for the Union. His work has been done in a quiet but effective manner. He is willing to work and to wait, believing that the ultimate success of the Union is assured.

BALLINGER, N. F., Temple, Ga.—Organizer. Began organizing October 9, 1905; has traveled 3,000 miles in the work; organized many local Unions in DeKalb, Walton, Haralson, Paulding, Douglas, Carroll, Cherokee, and Cobb. He initiated John L. Lee, the present State President, into the Union.

BRINSON, R. L., Woodcliff, Ga.—Lives Business Agent in his section of the State; believes in co-operation through the State Business Department; believes in living as well as preaching the principles of the Farmers' Union; has labored for the cause in his section against numerous disadvantages.

BOLTON, W. H., Milner, Ga.—Joined the Union four and one-half years ago under Organizer C. S. Barrett; has attended a great many county and State meetings, and national rallies; has attended every meeting of his local Union since its organization; has been County President for one year. His local Union has built and operates a warehouse. He is a good, faithful member.

BIRD, W. H., Dayton, Ga.—President of Whitfield County Union two terms; assisted in organizing a \$3,000 warehouse company and a \$4,000 ginnery; made a hundred speeches while President of the County Union.

BAZEMORE, T. N., Butler, Ga.—Conductor State Union and Organizer; traveled 5,000 miles; made 150 speeches; organized 27 local Unions; delegate to the National Convention at Texarkana, 1905. He has been Conductor of the State Union for four years.

BARKER, ZACH EVERETT, Atwater, Ga.—Organizer and Lecturer; did quite a lot of organizing and lecturing in different parts of Georgia.

BROWN, LAWSON E., Sandersville, Ga.—Member of the State Agricultural Committee; one of the staunchest friends in Washington County; an earnest believer in reform.

BORING, JOHN, Woodstock, Ga.—One of the first Organizers of the Farmers' Union in Georgia. He is never too tired, the weather never too bad for Uncle John to sacrifice time and feeling to do a good turn for the organization.

BELL, J. T., Canton, Ga.—One of the oldest members of this organization in the State; kept his local Union alive three years without a charter. He is a persistent believer in co-operation, and has done a great deal of work for the Union in Cherokee County.

BEVERLY, J. T., Thomaston, Ga.—Successful warehouseman; was an influential member of the Alliance; never did leave the Alliance or Populist party, and will never quit the Farmers' Union.

BROWN, J. POPE, Hawkinsville, Ga.—Delegate to the last National Convention; ex-Railroad Commissioner, and very prosperous farmer.

BELL, Z. R., Roopville, Ga.—Ex-Sergeant-at-Arms of the National Union; has done a great deal of organizing.

BROWN, J. I., Ochlochnee, Ga.—One of the leading Business Agents in South Georgia; is always found laboring for advancement of the laboring class.

BARRETT, S. S., Zebulon, Ga.—Ex-Chairman of State Executive Committee, ex-Member County Board of Education, ex-County Commissioner, and prosperous farmer.

BURGESS, C. T., Ashland, Ga.—Lectured to all local Unions in his county last year, and did work in Banks and Madison Counties; is a good worker.

BARRON, R. L., Zebulon, Ga.—Ex-State Lecturer; has done some organizing work; a bright young man.

CARMICAL, D. A., Union City, Ga.—Founder of Union City, Georgia; was born on the 6th day of April, 1867; was raised on the farm; received his schooling at Moreland, Ga. He, being the youngest child, and his parents old, the responsibility of looking after his father's farm fell upon him when quite young. He moved to Campbell County, 1889, and continued to farm. On the 13th day of October, 1889, he married Miss Cora J. Westbrook, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William R. Westbrook, one of the most prominent farmers of Campbell County, who resided for about fifty years on the farm where Union City is now located. Carmical, seeing the great need of improved agricultural implements, he began inventing and manufacturing a new line of implements, in which he continued to improve until he has a line of the best agricultural implements on the market, which doubles the capacity of the farm in many respects, and does better work than the old methods. He has received the highest award on all his machines

at every fair entered, and his machines have become very popular in almost every State in the cotton belt. In 1903, soon after the death of Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Westbrook, D. A. Carmical purchased their old homestead, where Union City is now built. He used this as a farm until 1907, at which time, through great opposition, he succeeded in getting the A. B. & A. Railway to locate through his farm, at which place they made a connection with the Atlanta & West Point Railway. Having accomplished this, he saw that he had one of the most beautiful sites for a town in the South. He soon succeeded in getting Farmers' Union headquarters located at this place.

CAMPBELL, J. P., Washington, D. C.—His first official work of the Georgia Division was on an educational committee to confer with the Governor about the curriculum for the Agricultural Schools of the State; engaged to travel over the State and recommend these agricultural schools; went to every congressional district; traveled a distance of 10,000 miles, and made 500 speeches; traveled through the Second Congressional District in company with Congressman Griggs, and experts from the Department of Agriculture; is now with the Department of Agriculture at Washington, D. C. He is doing all he can to build up the agricultural interests of his country.

COKER, W. M., Ex-State Lecturer, Union City, Ga.—Has been very active in pushing the work of organizing the Farmers' Union in Georgia; was born on a farm in Banks County, Georgia, the 3d day of May, 1855. He had but few school advantages, having to work on the farm for a living from ten years of age up till he was a man. After marriage he took a course in mechanical engineering. He joined the Farmers' Union in Pike County, his home, among the first, and since that time has been actively at work for the Union. He was for two years Special Lecturer for the State, and was elected State Lecturer in November, 1908.

CARLTON, GRADY, Monroe, Ga.—Secretary-Treasurer of Walton County. Has devoted his time and energy to building up the Union in his county; joined the Union at 16, and was elected Secretary-Treasurer when the County Union was organized; conducts the Farmers' Union Department of the *Walton News*. His official connection with his County Union is remarkable for a young man 10 years of age.

COOPER, D. B., Lithonia, Ga.—Vice-President of County Union. His local or county meeting never misses his face; State meetings

and business meetings always find this earnest worker carrying his part of the burden. A strong advocate of protection through organization.

CHASTAIN, R. R., Thomasville, Ga.—President of Thomas County Union since the organization of that county. A splendid executive and an earnest worker; a loyal supporter of all the institutions of the organization. A true, consecrated Union man.

COKER, W. H., Union City, Ga.—Has been in the employ of the Union Phosphate Company since 1908. During the time the plant was being erected, he was general superintendent and paymaster; traveled in the interest of the company during April, 1908; on his return, was given a position as clerk in the office, which position he now holds; has made special trips in the interest of the company.

CULPEPPER, JOEL, Curryville, Ga.—Has been identified with the Farmers' Union ever since its introduction into Northwest Georgia; has served as President of Gordon County Union since its organization; delegate to several State meetings and a promoter of the warehouse in his county. Has been Secretary-Treasurer ever since the organization of West Local Union; was delegate to National Convention at New Orleans.

CARNES, A. B., Lindale, Ga.—Born in Polk County, Georgia, March 22, 1871, and was reared on a farm. Served as President of the Floyd County Union in 1907, and was re-elected in 1908. Was elected President of the Union organization for the Seventh Congressional District, composed of thirteen counties, and has been re-elected every year since.

CLEMENTS, B. S., White Sulphur Springs, Ga.—Has been a faithful worker in Meriwether County, devoting his time and paying his own expenses to visit the local Unions of his county; was the first Secretary-Treasurer of Local Union No. 4, and has been Secretary-Treasurer of his County Union since organization.

CAVENDER, W. W., ex-President Coweta County Union, Sargent, Ga.—Was first President of Coweta County Union; traveled several hundred miles on business connected with the Union; never missed a meeting of local or county; never failed to make a talk at every meeting, and has worked in season and out of season for the success of his county.

CASH, R. W., Jackson, Ga.—Has served as President of his local Union since 1907. Previous to that time, was a member of



STATE OFFICIALS AND EX STATE OFFICIALS, SOUTH CAROLINA
DIVISION.

1. L. L. BAKER, Member State Executive Committee.
2. T. C. WILLOUGHBY, Ex Member State Executive Committee.
3. O. P. GOODWIN, Member State Executive Committee.
4. W. R. PARKS, Member State Executive Committee.
5. JOSEPH L. KEITT, Member State Executive Committee.

the County Executive Committee, and has been delegate to State meetings; has assisted in organizing several local Unions. He is the representative of the Union Phosphate Company in Henry County.

COOPER, T. T., Hoschton, Ga.—Was born March 18, 1849, in Hall County, Georgia; has been a member of the Alliance and kindred organizations; joined the Union when it was first organized in Jackson County; was elected President of his local, and later became County President. He is an ardent Union worker, and every member of his immediate family are supporters of the order.

COLEMAN, I. F., Doerun, Ga.—Local Business Agent and one of the recognized leaders of South Georgia; believes in co-operation, and believes in living as well as preaching the cause of co-operation.

CAMP, A. S., Bartow, Ga.—Local Business Agent; the first Business Agent of his local; one of the first to join the Union in his county. A persistent worker.

COWN, S. M., Union City, Ga.—Has organized in Bartow and lectured to locals in this and adjoining counties; assistant editor Agricultural Department of the *Union News*.

CHILDS, W. H., Greensboro, Ga.—County Business Agent; one of the best co-operators in the State; believes in co-operation through the business department.

COOPER, A. H., Pavo, Ga.—Is always present at business and State meetings, and by his sane counsel carries great weight. He is a power in his county and in his community.

COLQUITT, JOHN, Thomaston, Ga.—Vice-President of his County Union; successful farmer. He is an honest man.

COWART, WALTER, Union City, Ga.—Advertising Manager of the *Farmers' Union News*. A hustler and a bright young man.

DUCKWORTH, ROBERT FRANKLIN, ex-National President, Union City, Ga.—Some men win success through some strange turn in life's wheel of chance, through some sheer stroke of luck seized upon at the opportune moment. Others win by hard and persistent endeavor, grinding toil, privations, coupled with deeply ingrained character and purposefulness. The first build on unstable foundation. The last is bedded deep in the rock. The one may totter to

a fall, without ability to rise again. The other may grope in darkness and uncertainty, but will find the enduring success in the end. Of the last named type is the subject of this sketch. He belongs to the aggressive, persevering kind. A look at his square, rugged jaw tells much. Here is a strong and dependable man, a friend to be trusted in the deepest sense of the word; a foeman who fights out in the open, but who fights with grim and determined purposefulness. He generally wins, but when he loses it only makes him fight the harder the next time. He was born in Texas on a plantation, and his earlier years were spent in the hard and grinding toil of most farmer boys. But he began to feel the stir of ambition early in life. He attended college at DeSoto, Reinhart, and Ravenna. At the age of 26 he was married to Miss Iva L. Gilpin. In December, 1902, he joined the Farmers' Union, and was elected President of the local Union. He was present at the organization of the Hopkins County Union in 1903, the first to be organized. In February of that year he began work as an organizer, and since then all his splendid energies and ability have been devoted to building up the Union. He was the first National Organizer elected by the board of ten. In November, 1903, he was sent to Georgia as an organizer, and here he showed his dauntless fighting qualities. He organized the first Union in Georgia on December 14, 1903. While he was working for the Union in Texas, he, with the lamented Newt. Gresham, founder of the organization, started the first Union paper, the *Password*. When he came to Georgia, he met with strong opposition. That aroused his fighting blood, and he gave up his place with the National Order and the *Password*, and devoted his entire time to Georgia, becoming State Organizer. In September, 1904, he established the *Farmers' Union News*, and fought through its columns. In the spring of 1905, the State Union of Georgia was organized at Thomaston, and he was elected Secretary-Treasurer. Shortly afterward O. P. Pyle, of Texas, resigned as National President, and the National Board of Directors elected Duckworth to succeed him. He served until the national meeting in 1906, when he declined to allow his name used for re-election, and Charles S. Barrett was chosen. Barrett resigned as Georgia President, and Duckworth succeeded him. He was re-elected in Atlanta in July, 1907, and again at Macon in 1908. In October of that year he resigned. He was twice elected Chairman of the National Legislative Committee. No truer man to Union principles or one more tireless in his work for them ever lived. Since he came to Georgia, Duckworth has worked almost night and day to make it powerful. He

is editor of the *Farmers' Union News*, a live and prosperous paper. He also heads a farmers' life insurance company. He is a man to be relied upon at all times in all places of trust.

DICKEY, DR. JOHN T., Sycamore, Ga.—Joined as a charter member of the first local Union organization in Irwin County. When the new county of Turner was organized, was elected President of that county; has been prominently identified with the establishment of the warehouse at Sycamore. Under his direction, the warehouse is paying good dividends. Dr. Dickey has been a member of every farmers' organization that had for its purpose the upbuilding of the farmer, and as a member of the Union he is a hard worker. He is one of the kind that always sticks. He never deserted any reform organization that he ever joined. He is yet a member of the Farmers' Alliance, and still votes the third party ticket.

DAVIS, G. M., Union City, Ga.—Ex-State Lecturer of the Georgia Division of the Farmers' Union; was born on a farm in Greenville County, South Carolina, August 31, 1868, and was educated in the common schools of the county. He attended the Cokesbury Preparatory School, and later entered Wofford College. After leaving college, he taught and farmed for a number of years. He was a member of the Grange and Alliance. Coming finally to Georgia, he joined the Farmers' Union as a charter member of his local, and was elected President at the time of its organization. He was elected State Lecturer in 1906, and again in 1907, resigning in October, 1907, to accept another position. He has been active in organizing the Union in Georgia.

DRAKE, JESSE A., State Counsel, Union City, Ga.—Was born on a farm in DeKalb County, Tennessee, January 10, 1870; was educated at Pure Fountain College, Smithville, Tenn.; received his law training at Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn., from which school he graduated in 1897. Beginning the practice of law, he soon built up a lucrative business, and when the Farmers' Union was looking about for a man to act as State Counsel for Georgia, he was selected as one properly qualified to fill the responsible position. On March 1, 1908, he became connected with the Union work as State Counsel, which position he now holds. While he is not a member of the Farmers' Union, his work and his sympathy are for the cause.

DEVITT, J. S., Rockmart, Ga.—Is Vice-President of the Union Cotton Company, and a wealthy farmer; was raised in Polk County; joined the Farmers' Union under peculiar circumstances.

The County Commissioners of his county had closed the court-house doors against the Farmers' Union. This act brought J. S. Devitt's attention to the Farmers' Union. He at once set out to search for the Union, and became a member, and has been a persistent worker.

DOSTER, Miss JIMMIE, Union City, Ga.—Has been connected with State Headquarters almost from the beginning as clerk to the State President, and later to the National President; for a year was connected with the editorial department of the *Union News*; Delegate to the National Convention at Fort Worth, 1908. She is well informed as to the workings of Union matters in the State of Georgia.

DEAN, J. S., Buchanan, Ga.—Manager Union Produce Company; joined the Union upon its advent in Haralson County; was elected Business Agent of County Union; has attended the rallies in Atlanta and Memphis; was elected Manager of the Union Produce Company in 1908, and continued in charge until January 1, 1909. Dean makes a good Union man.

DAVIS, JOHN M., Buford, Ga.—Was formerly County President of Gwinnett County. When he was elected, there were ten local Unions, with 200 members. At the conclusion of his term, two years later, there were forty locals, with a membership of about 1,000. He has devoted considerable time to the Union cause.

DAY, M. L., Nashville, Ga.—A prominent leader of the Farmers' Union in his county. He has served his county and local Union faithfully; was a delegate to the State meeting, 1908, where he was elected a delegate to the National Meeting at Fort Worth.

DAVIER, A. R., Camilla, Ga.—Member State Agricultural Committee; a deep thinker, logical reasoner, and a quiet worker. A Union man who believes in deeds, and does them.

DURHAM, C. F., Spring Place, Ga.—Pleasing personality, genial, sunny disposition. A firm believer in the organization, and is always to be found in his place at the proper time.

DUKE, B. T., Organizer, Buena Vista, Ga.—Has been identified with the Union since it was planted in Georgia; has traveled over three counties, making speeches and organizing locals; is still doing all he can to advance the cause.

DAWSON, Miss MARY, Atlanta, Ga.—Stenographer to National President. An honest and hard worker.

DAYTON, H. L., Crest, Ga.—Secretary of his County Union, and a most excellent one.

EUBANKS, J. G., State Business Agent, Union City, Ga.—Among the many State Business Agents, J. G. Eubanks ranks first. He is practically the only one who has made a success of the business department of a State Union. J. G. Eubanks was born in Cobb County, Georgia, May 7, 1858. At the time of Sherman's invasion the Eubanks family was in the line of march of both armies. Everything they had was destroyed, and they were reduced to want. Young Eubanks had very little educational advantages, but such as he had he used to good purpose. While a young man, he secured a business education, and in 1880 moved to Polk County, where he was manager of a lumber plant. In 1901 he gave up his position with the lumber people and moved to his farm near Fish. Here he joined the Farmers' Union, and became a very active member in the work. When it was decided to establish the business department of the Georgia Division, no one could be found who was as well qualified as he to take charge of the business. In January, 1906, he was put in charge as Business Agent by the Executive Committee, and has remained in that position ever since. He was once elected as the head of the National Business Department, but on account of the pressing business in his State, Georgia, he was compelled to decline the offer of this position. The Business Department in Georgia is the most successful one in the Union jurisdiction, and the credit for it belongs to Eubanks. He is an indefatigable worker, and takes pride in the fact that the system of his office is superb in its arrangement, and every clerk knows his place. His system approaches close to perfection, which proves that he is possessed of sound business judgment. He is President of the Union Phosphate Company.

ENGLISH, J. L., Leading Organizer, Abbeville, Ga.—Has organized more local Unions than any other Organizer in the State. The number organized is 300, number of speeches made is 500, and the number of miles traveled is 12,500. This is the record of a sixty-year-old Organizer in Georgia.

EVANS, R. E. L., Thomson, Ga.—Is Secretary and Manager of the Farmers' Union Warehouse Company of Thomson, and has been very successful in his management. Is Business Agent for the Union in McDuffie County. Is a successful farmer and peach grower.

EMMITT, G. F., Statesboro, Ga.—Member of the State Agricultural Committee from Bulloch County; has done great work in his

community in a quiet way, making better farmers out of the Union men in his section; taking advantage of the educational feature of the organization to push his ideas of reform.

EUBANKS, GEORGE, Union City, Ga.—Order clerk in the State Business Department: a bright young man who is doing good work.

ENLEY, A. L., Clyo, Ga.—Local Business Agent: has labored for the cause in his community against many disadvantages, but won the victory.

FULWOOD, JOHN L., Cedartown, Ga.—Has made a hundred or more speeches, and traveled five thousand miles in the interest of the cotton certificate plan, of which he is the promoter: has visited Memphis, Fort Worth, New Orleans, and Washington in the interest of the cotton certificate, and has been able to get them into circulation in a number of counties.

FUNDERBURG, D. J., Suwanee, Ga.—Local Business Agent, and has served as such since the organization of his county: was one of the first to join the organization when his county was organized: is an enthusiastic worker for the cause.

FAMBROUGH, W. B., Hoschton, Ga.—Has been County Organizer since September, 1908, and has added to the membership of the county about 100 members: has done all in his power to advance the Union cause.

FORT, T. E., Blakely, Ga.—Joined the Union early in 1908: was elected President of Early County Union when it was organized. He is one of the strong, aggressive Union men in his section of the State.

FULGHUM, J. F., Mitchell, Ga.—Local Business Agent: one of the first members of the organization in his county: believes in co-operation, and is a strong worker for the cause.

GRAY, DR. R. M., Everett Springs, Ga.—Joined the Union upon its introduction into Gordon County, has visited most of the State and his district Unions: has been officially connected with the Gordon County Warehouse since its organization: served first as secretary of the warehouse, and later as president of the company. The warehouse has been very successfully managed and is doing well. He is Secretary of the Board of Trustees of Everett Springs Seminary.

GULIATT, C. H., Union City, Ga.—Has been Assistant Editor of the Agricultural Department of the *Union News* and Manager of

the Union Supply Company; is Manager of the Union Cotton Grading School at Union City, Georgia, and owner of McArthur's Cotton Grading Manual, a book on cotton grading; is President of his local Union. Gullatt is a hustling, prosperous young farmer. His cotton grading school is a good one.

GLAZE, H. W., Flowery Branch, Ga.—Is County Business Agent; has served as local Business Agent ever since the organization of his county; is one of the best County Business Agents to be found in the State; has served as County President, and has been a delegate to several State meetings.

GLEATON, B. S., Warwick, Ga.—Local Business Agent and leader in his section; believes in doing business co-operatively; a strong worker for the advancement of the cause.

GOWAN, C. L., Waleska, Ga.—Ex-State Organizer and one of the first Local Organizers in the State; was a fine organizer.

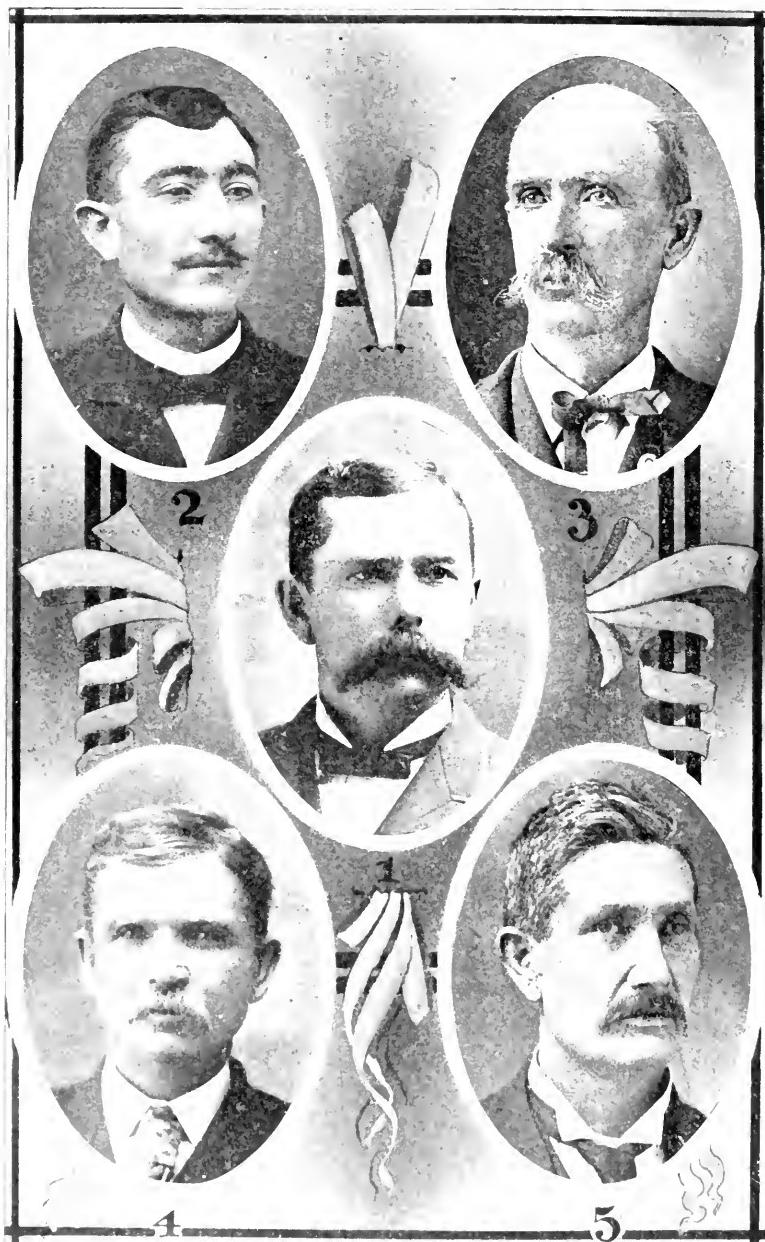
GEIGER, JAMES T., Glenwood, Ga.—Has been Secretary-Treasurer of his County Union; was Business Agent for County Union; has helped to organize three warehouses, and is manager of the warehouse at Glenwood; has made a study of co-operation questions, and is fully alive to their importance.

GRAY, OSCAR, Brooks, Ga.—Joined the Union in Fayette County, 1905; has kept faithfully at it ever since. He organized and worked hard, and by his persistency has kept his local alive. He has done much for the cause.

GILPIN, W. E., Union City, Ga.—Has been with the *Union Notes* almost from its start; was Business Manager and Manager of the Union Supply Company. Now Manager of the circulation department.

GODDARD, J. D., Marietta, Ga.—County Business Agent, Cobb County. Is a hard worker and a leading member in his county. Has acted as Doorkeeper, Conductor, and Business Agent.

HAWKINS, THOMAS LEE, State Organizer, Union City, Ga.—The subject of this sketch was elected State Organizer for Georgia by the Executive Committee at its meeting in November, 1908, as a successor to J. L. Lee, who was elected State President. T. L. Hawkins was born on a farm in Washington County, Georgia, September 24, 1878. He attended the public schools of his county. After leaving school, he taught during the winter and devoted the summer months to farming. He joined the Union in



STATE OFFICIALS, ILLINOIS AND INDIANA DIVISIONS.

- 1 A. H. EVANS, Illinois, State President.
- 2 JOE BOFFETI, Illinois, State Business Agent.
- 3 L. B. HUNTER, Illinois, Secretary Treasurer.
- 4 W. A. RAIN, Illinois, Vice President.
- 5 JOHN K. WEINMASTER, Indiana, State Organizer.

1906, and soon afterwards went out as a Local Organizer, which place he was filling at the time of his election as State Organizer. He has visited more than half of the counties in the State, and knows the people of Georgia well. Hawkins works persistently, and his work tells wherever he goes. He has at all times been an ardent supporter of all reform movements, and as such is well and favorably known throughout the State. He makes hosts of friends wherever he goes. His organizing work was so thorough that the attention of the Executive Committee was directed to him to fill the place of State Organizer made vacant by the election of J. L. Lee State President.

HUDSON, THOMAS G., Commissioner of Agriculture for Georgia, Atlanta, Ga.—Was born on a farm in Schley County; attended the common schools and the college at Dawson. After leaving school, engaged in farming; has served two terms in the State Legislature, and two terms as State Senator; has been Commissioner of Agriculture for several years. He has visited many of the rallies held in the State and made speeches in behalf of the farmers and the Union. He has never failed to respond to a call of the Union.

HOGUE, WILLIAM THOMAS, Draketown, Ga.—Was born in Cobb County, Georgia, May 10, 1853. His parents moved to Paulding County when young Hogue was two years old, where he has resided ever since. His education is somewhat limited owing to the fact that he grew up during the war, when there were not many schools, but by diligence and application he fitted himself for the duties of life; has been a member of the Alliance; later joined the Farmers' Union, of which he is an enthusiastic member; was a delegate to the first State meeting held at Thomaston, where he was elected a member of the State Executive Committee, and has been re-elected at every meeting since. He is fully imbued with Union ideas and Union principles.

HUNNICUTT, G. E., Director Carmical Implement Company, Atlanta, Ga.—Has attended many rallies, where he made speeches; has traveled some three thousand miles, and made more than a hundred speeches, some of them in South Carolina; is a director of the Carmical Implement Company and assisted in its organization. He has never held any official position in the Union, but has given counsel as a layman. He is editor of the *Southern Cultivator*, a first-class farm paper, published in the city of Atlanta, and through its columns he is doing much to encourage farmers to diversify their crops and build up the waste places of the State.

HOYLE, J. H., Crest, Ga.—Chairman State Executive Committee. He joined the Union at the first opportunity, and went immediately to work in an enthusiastic manner. Was elected a member of the State Executive Committee when the State Union was organized; helped R. F. Duckworth and C. S. Barrett to borrow the money to start the Union. He lives within five miles of where he was born, and is one of the best farmers in the State. His barn is bigger, better and more convenient than most people's dwelling house.

HART, J. M., President Fifth District Union, College Park, Ga.—Has traveled about 3,500 miles making speeches and organizing local Unions; President Flat Rock local for three years; President Clayton County Union three years; President Fifth Congressional District Union two years; member of the Board of Directors of the Carmical Implement Company for two years; has been National Delegate to meetings held in Atlanta, Little Rock, Memphis, and New Orleans, and has been a faithful worker for the Union.

HARRIS, J. I., Stilesboro, Ga.—Became a member of the Farmers' Union in October, 1905; in December following was elected President of Davis Local; served that local as President until January, 1909; February, 1906, was elected Secretary-Treasurer of Polk County, and served two years in that capacity; has attended several State meetings and served on important committees.

HENDRICKS, T. R., Macon, Ga.—President and General Manager Union Cotton Company; has helped to organize local and County Unions; President Union Warehouse Company, Hawkinsville, 1908. Warehouse was successful; has served on many important committees at State meetings.

HEAD, J. H., Fairburn, Ga.—Joined the Union in November, 1905, and immediately set to work to help organize his county. He is still doing all he can for the cause.

HARDY, W. B. H., Thunder, Ga.—President of County Union, and loyal to every cause he ever espoused.

HARRIS, G. L., Palmetto, Ga.—Organized in many counties; has traveled for some time; is now with the demonstration work.

HATFIELD, J. I., Douglas, Ga.—Member of the Legislature, and has worked for the Union in his section.

HENDRICKS, J. WALTER, Statesboro, Ga.—Principal of the First District Agricultural School; has attended several conventions and given some very valuable advice. I believe he is all right.

JARMAN, L. W., Porterdale, Ga.—A member of the State Agricultural Committee, which he helped to organize; has been delegate to State conventions and National mass meetings; assisted in organizing and financing the Warehouse Company in his county. A fine farmer.

JOHNSON, M. L., Cassville, Ga.—Delegate to State Convention held in Macon; delegate to New Orleans 1908; delegate to Atlanta, 1909. He was formerly President of the Georgia Division of the Southern Cotton Association. At the present time he is doing good work in the Farmers' Union.

JONES, A. P., Rome, Ga.—Joined the Union, 1907; has been actively at work in his county ever since; is Secretary of his local Union; Secretary of the County Union, and Secretary of the Seventh Congressional District Union.

JEANS, C. J., Union City, Ga.—General Manager Carmical Implement Company, a Union enterprise, and one of the hard workers for the cause; instrumental in building the warehouse at Union City.

KELLY, W. M., Tennille, Ga.—Has served Washington County as Business Agent. He is a persistent worker in the business department of the organization; has saved his people thousands of dollars.

KEMP, W. R., Swainsboro, Ga.—Director of the State Farmers' Fair and ex-Member of the Legislature. At present time member of Georgia State Senate.

KEENER, W. A., Wolffork, Ga.—Has been a good worker for the Union cause, but in a very quiet way.

LADSON, C. T., General Counsel Farmers' Union.—The subject of this sketch, C. T. Ladson, General Counsel for the Farmers' Union, was born near Savannah, Ga., February 28, 1862. He is of English descent. His ancestors emigrated to South Carolina in the year 1667, coming from the Island of Barbadoes, where they had previously settled, being among the first settlers of Charleston. His family was impoverished by the Civil War, and, orphaned at an early age, he was thrown upon his own resources while yet a boy. He spent his boyhood upon the farm, and by hard work saved enough money to secure an education. He was admitted to practice law at the South Carolina bar in 1881. In 1885 he moved with his wife and baby to Atlanta, Ga., and began the practice of law. At this time he was without any means, and was solely dependent

upon the meager practice of a young and unknown lawyer for support. Here he toiled incessantly, and in the course of a short while found himself established upon a firm footing, and he is today one of the ablest and best-known lawyers of the Georgia bar. He is still in the prime of life and a career of further great honor and usefulness is still before him. The name of C. T. Ladson will be endeared to the people of Georgia for the prominent part which he took in securing the passage of the Child Labor Bill. For several years he labored without fee or reward to secure the passage of the bill. He also rendered substantial aid in the passage of similar laws in South Carolina. The reason given by Mr. Ladson for the devotion of so much time to procure this legislation is: "My early struggles made me acquainted with the 'simple annals of the poor,' and a fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind." For fifteen years he has been the representative of all labor organizations in the State of Georgia. Since his detention as General Counsel of the National Farmers' Union, he has rendered valuable service to the organization.

LEIGH, S. E., Grantville, Ga.—Prominent Union member; has traveled about 2,000 miles and made twenty-five regular speeches at rallies in different parts of the State. He is one of the finest speakers in the State, and was formerly member of the Georgia Legislature, where he won distinction as a speaker.

LINDSAY, PAUL L., Tucker, Ga.—National President Rural Letter Carriers' Association; has helped to make the Union a success in his county; assisted in the organization of the State Union; was elected delegate to first Texarkana meeting, but did not attend; has been a member of several prominent committees at State Unions. A hustling young man.

LUNSDEN, T. S., Carrollton, Ga.—One of the first to join the organization in his county; a strong believer in education, and has been one of the principal factors in building up the best rural school to be found in the county.

LINEBURGER, T. L., Chula, Ga.—Local Business Agent; has been Business Agent ever since the organization of his local Union; has been co-operating continuously with State Business Department.

LEDFORD, F. L., Pitts, Ga.—Organized forty locals; visited from house to house in his organizing work.

LEE, JOHN L., State President, Union City, Ga.—No phrase is more often improperly applied to a man than "self-made," but it

could find nowhere a more fitting application than in the person of the present President of the Georgia Division of the Farmers' Union. Born a farmer, he remains a farmer to this day, and a successful, energetic, progressive farmer, too. He has known poverty, and battled bravely to overcome it; he has met adversity, and fought it bravely; he has known lowly toil, and met it like a strong man. He has wrung success from the difficulties that would have conquered a weaker man. Hon. John L. Lee, President of the Georgia Division of the Farmers' Union, was born in Horry County, South Carolina, July 4, 1870. His birthplace was about one-half mile from the North Carolina line, near Chadburn. He is in the line of descent from the family of the Virginia Lees. When three weeks old, his mother died, and at the age of eleven, his father. Until the age of eleven, he attended the common schools of North Carolina. During 1888 and 1889, he attended night school. John L. Lee has always been a laborer or a farmer, and as such has spent his life among the country people, devoting his best energies to their interest. The father of John L. Lee was a Mason, a deacon of the Baptist Church, and one of the great Sunday school workers of the seventies. The mother of John L. Lee was Miss Annie McIntyre. At eleven years of age, John L. Lee moved from North Carolina to the State of Georgia, where he engaged in farm work as a day laborer. Here he grew up, becoming identified with the farmer. He finally settled in DeKalb County, and when the Farmers' Union was organized in that section, he joined. He was elected State Organizer of the Farmers' Union at the meeting in Atlanta, in 1905, which position he filled with credit to himself and benefit to the Union until October, 1908, when he was elected President of the Georgia Division. John L. Lee belongs to the following secret orders: Masons, Odd Fellows, Woodmen of the World, and Junior Order of American Mechanics. He is an able speaker, and his services are in constant demand by conventions and other bodies desiring good speakers. He has visited every county in the State in the interest of the Union, and has worked in season and out of season for the Union cause.

LEE, B. F., Thomaston, Ga.—Has been a member of the Grange and the Farmers' Alliance, and joined the Union a few months before the organization of the State Union. He was selected to do the clerical work in the office of C. S. Barrett, then State Business Agent. After the organization of the State Union, he was sent out as an Organizer and Lecturer, in which connection he traveled through many counties, encouraging the boys and organizing the local Unions. B. F. Lee is not a backslider; he always sticks, and

does not have much patience with a fellow who backslides or fails to stick. He will do to risk.

McDANIEL, JOHN T., Secretary-Treasurer of Georgia, Union City, Ga.—Was born on a farm in Rockdale County, Georgia. He attended the country schools for five months in the year and worked on a farm the balance of the time; attended high school at Conyers; joined the Farmers' Alliance in 1889; went West in 1893, and engaged in live stock commission business; entered Euharlee College in 1896, and graduated from there in 1897; joined the Farmers' Union in 1905, and became an Organizer in November of the same year. He was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the State of Georgia, November 24, 1907, and re-elected July, 1908. He has kept his books in a very business-like manner, and the Executive Committee has always found them correct and neatly kept.

McDANIEL, W. F., Conyers, Ga.—President of Rockdale County Union. Has traveled several thousand miles, visiting local Unions and making speeches; was elected President of his local Union when organized, and first President of Rockdale County Union, which position he still holds; had visited every State Union, except one, since joining. He is the father of J. T. McDaniel, the present State Secretary-Treasurer. He has gone throughout his county, and has always borne his own expenses.

MCLINDON, T. S., Carrollton, Ga.—Joined the Union at first opportunity; was elected Vice-President of Carroll County Union at time of organization; was elected manager of the warehouse, September, 1906; refused re-election, September, 1908, and was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the County Union December, 1908.

MOORE, W. L., Union City, Ga.—Chief Clerk in State Business Agent's Department, and private secretary to J. G. Eubanks. Is a fine business man. He entered the work of organizing the Farmers' Union in the early days of the organization. This brought him in contact with the people, and with his acquired knowledge of business, qualified him for the Secretary-Treasurer's Department, which he entered as chief clerk to J. L. Barron, three years ago. On account of efficiency in business, was later given the position of Chief Clerk at the State Business Department. Moore is a hard worker, and is one of the many men who have burnt midnight oil in order to meet the demands of the membership. He furnishes his full share of energy and brains which keeps the Business Department of Georgia intact.

MOORE, L. M., Waleska, Ga.—Has traveled several hundred miles and made a number of speeches; his work has been confined

largely to Cherokee County; was one of the Managers of the Farmers' Union at the State Fair.

MEECE, A. J., Tiger, Ga.—Is Local Business Agent and one of the most prominent Business Agents to be found in Northeast Georgia.

MABRY, J. M. C., Gainesville, Ga.—Organizer, County President, and Vice-President of his District Union; is one of the most enthusiastic workers in his section: organized his own county, and has been continuously organizing in other counties.

MAYFIELD, I. W., Monroe, Ga.—Has been President of his County Union for two years; organized a number of local Unions; made many speeches and traveled several hundred miles in the interest of the Union. He has taken a prominent part and been a leader in the building of a warehouse in his town. Attended National Convention at New Orleans in 1908.

MARTIN, W. V., Tifton, Ga.—Member of the State Executive Committee. Joined the Union in 1905; heard of the organization and traveled quite a distance to find out about it. After joining, he went to work at once to push the work in his county. He is a man of fine business qualities, and has been three times unanimously elected a member of the State Executive Committee.

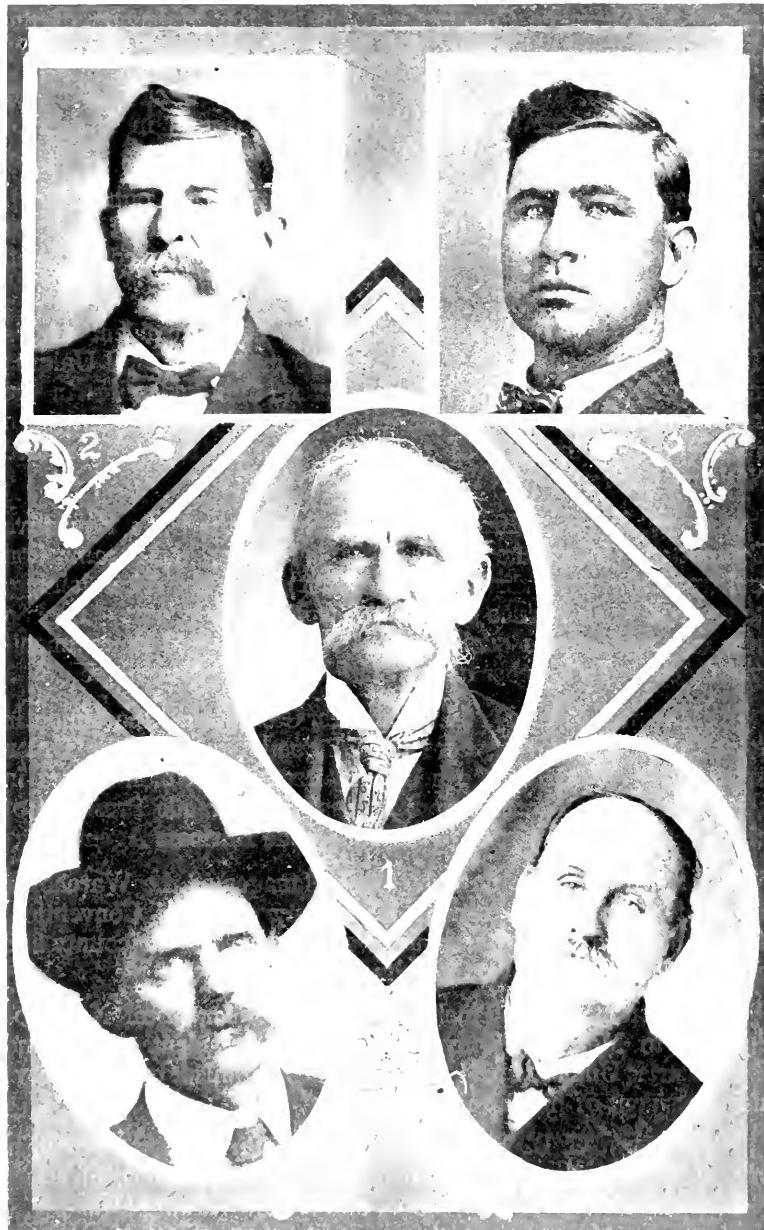
McMAHAN, A. L., Double Branches, Ga.—Joined the Union in 1907 in Hart County, where he did good work for the Union cause. He is getting the people interested in Union affairs in Lincoln County, where he now resides. Was made President of his Local when organized. Was later made Business Agent.

MATTHEWS, W. B., Cordele, Ga.—Manager of the Warehouse at Cordele; also represented his county at State Convention. Through his efforts, a warehouse was organized in his county and he has been manager ever since its organization.

MCCORMICK, J. C., Pinehurst, Ga.—Member Local No. 560; delegate to Memphis Convention, 1908; President second and third district Unions, 1908; Lecturer and Organizer of his county; also President of his Local Union.

MCKINNON, C. B., Bluffton, Ga.—Joined as a charter member of Oakland Local; was appointed County Organizer soon after; has made sacrifices for the Union, and is still working away.

MCGAHEE, W. M., Thomason, Ga.—Director of Carmical Implement Company. Was a member of the Alliance.



STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, ILLINOIS DIVISION.

1. G. B. SAYER.

4. JOHN T. RIGGS.

2. J. M. WALKER.

5. JOHN F. HENDERSON.

3. W. D. GREEN.

MILNER, BOB, Concord, Ga.—Has done a lot of individual work, and by his influence has helped greatly in building up the Union in his section of the State; has stuck to every farmers' organization that he ever joined, and has always been loyal.

MILLS, J. H., Jenkinsburg, Ga.—Was elected County Lecturer of his county; has traveled about three hundred miles; made twenty speeches, and talks in defense of the cause everywhere he goes.

MARTIN, L. H. O., Elberton, Ga.—Superintendent of the Georgia Farmers' Union Fair; served on many important committees, and ex-member of the Georgia Legislature.

MITCHAM, J. L., Crest, Ga.—Organizer. Has been a faithful worker; organized Local Unions for awhile.

NESBITT, R. T., Marietta, Ga.—Ex-State Commissioner of Agriculture; was a member of the Grange and the Alliance; joined the Union in Cobb County, where he was elected President of his Local Union, and President of his County Union.

NEWCOMER, C. A., Fitzgerald, Ga.—Has been County Organizer and has done all that he could do in his county in building up the Union and influencing others. Director of Union Cotton Company at Macon.

NELMS, T. J., Danielsville, Ga.—President, Organizer and Lecturer of his county; traveled five hundred miles; organized twenty-five Local Unions, and made fifty speeches.

OVERMAN, J. R., Douglas, Ga.—Was County Lecturer of Coffee County, and visited many Local Unions in his and adjoining counties; has made a hundred speeches and traveled several hundred miles in the interest of the Union.

O'QUINN, A. H., Jesup, Ga.—Member of the State Agricultural Committee; Secretary Wayne County Warehouse: a prosperous farmer, who has made a success.

A MAN WHO COULD TAKE AS WELL AS GIVE ORDERS,

PHILLIPS, GEN. WILLIAM, the subject of this sketch, was born in Buncombe County, North Carolina, July 8, 1824, and died at Marietta, Georgia, September 25, 1908. The father of General Phillips settled in Habersham County, Georgia, when William was a child, and among the hills of North Georgia, young Phillips

grew up with a love for the country people. Young Phillips graduated from the high school at Clarksville and the University of Georgia; read law in the office of Judge Dougherty in Athens, and was there admitted to the bar; moved to Marietta, 1850, and began the practice of law; was made Brigadier-General by Governor Brown, and ranking officer. After the war, he devoted his energy to building up the agricultural interest of the South and to securing prohibition; was president of the Agricultural Society of the State and President of Cobb County Sunday School Convention in the seventies, and was chief promoter and builder of the M., K. & N. Railway. After building the railway, he went back to farming, joined the Farmers' Union upon the advent of it into his county, and from that time he devoted his time and energies to the upbuilding of the cause. Here was a man, the lesson of whose life should be written in the hearts and the minds of every member of this organization. He knew how to command, but he also knew how to obey. Qualified mentally and morally for the highest offices in public and private life, he was always sufficiently humble to take orders when taking orders meant the interest of the organization with which he happened to be connected. In my connection with this organization, I have seen many men with less ability from an intellectual and strategetical standpoint, with less knowledge and less capacity to command than General Phillips, hampering the cause and working their own undoing because of a petty mania to assert what they called their "independence."

It is rare that we find the qualities that make the commander and private soldier in the same personality. General Phillips was one of these infrequent kind. His memory should serve as a perpetual guide-post.

PEEK, W. L., Conyers, Ga.—Delegate to the State meetings, 1907 and 1908, where he was on several important committees; has been making speeches in his section for the Union. He was the last President of the State Farmers' Alliance, of which he was a leading member, having been President of the Alliance Exchange. He was a prominent member of the Legislature several years ago, and made himself felt in that body. He is an extensive and successful farmer, owning and operating farms in both Georgia and Alabama. He is a regular attendant at all State and county meetings.

PENNINGTON, J. J., Thomson, Ga.—McDuffy County President. One of the few men who carry great weight by his past and present life among his members. Always sacrificial when the organ-

ization can be benefited; a fine executive, earnest worker, and firm believer in relief through organized effort.

PASSMORE, J. L., Catania, Ga.—County Business Agent in his county ever since organization; when organized, was one of the first members who joined the Union when it was introduced into the State; kept his Local Union alive after every other Local in the county had died; reorganized his county; is a recognized leader in the county.

PLUNKETT, W. O., Screven, Ga.—One of the liveliest Business Agents to be found in this section; believes in co-operation, and always to be found laboring for the Union cause.

PITTMAN, C. O., Secretary Union Cotton Company, Macon, Ga.—Was elected Secretary-Treasurer of Cedar Creek Local when initiated; was a member of Board of Directors of Floyd County Warehouse, and later President of the Board; Trade Agent of Floyd County.

PRESLEY, C. G., Organizer, Jasper, Ga.—Has organized sixty-eight Local Unions, some of them being in Tennessee; traveled several hundred miles and made a number of speeches. During the Summer Campaign he assisted in seventeen county rallies. Much of his work has been done in North Georgia and Middle Tennessee.

PARTIN, R. M., Ringgold, Ga.—Has made a number of speeches; visited several counties and organized Local Unions. Was first Secretary-Treasurer of Floyd County Union, and has been a faithful worker all the time.

PARIHAM, J. W., Blairsville, Ga.—Is County President; a continuous worker; a firm believer in the principles of the organization; one who adds prestige with those whom he comes in contact.

PEOPLES, H. L., Lawrenceville, Ga.—Ex-President of County Union and ex-member of Legislature. Peoples is an old Alliance worker.

QUIMBY, W. P., Cartersville, Ga.—Formerly Vice-President of the State Union, but resigned in 1908. Has been regular attendant of all State meetings and held positions on important committees. Helped to originate the Union Cotton Company.

RICHARDSON, O. J., Rutledge, Ga.—One of the first to enlist in the Farmers' Union of his county, and has ever since continued to

be one of the leading Union men in his section. He is a regular attendant at the business and State meetings, and believes in pushing the organization in place of the organization pushing him.

ROGERS, JOHN N., Granite Hill, Ga.—Superintendent Tenth District Agricultural School; has been prominently identified with the Union since it began in Georgia, has spoken publicly and privately in its interest on every occasion that presented itself; is at present Superintendent of the Tenth District Agricultural School near Sparta, Ga., where he is doing good work for the farmer boys.

RUSSELL, E., Jasper, Ga.—One of the leading Business Agents in North Georgia. One of the principal factors in raising enthusiasm among the membership in his section of the State. Through his efforts a great deal of business has passed through the business department of his section.

REYNOLDS, P. F., Young Cane, Ga.—Has done organizing work in his county; acted as County Business Agent; has assisted in organizing a warehouse, and has done other work.

RHODES, P. M., Rockmart, Ga.—Is one of the leading figures in the Farmers' Union of his section; has served his county as President and has done much for the upbuilding of the Union.

ROGERS, MILTON, Union City, Ga.—Has been connected with State Headquarters for quite a while; is now Secretary-Treasurer of the Carmical Implement Company.

SMITH, I. A., Tennille, Ga.—Joined the Union four years ago and has been active in his county every since; has attended most of the State Conventions; has held some very important official positions in his county. He is one of the largest and most progressive farmers in Washington County, and has been a promoter of a stock company organized in the interest of the Union. He is postmaster at Tennille.

STUBBS, HOMER, Byron, Ga.—Has been one of the faithful members of the Union in his county. When the County Union ceased to meet, he continued as President of his Local Union to hold together a small membership. Through his persistency, he finally succeeded in reorganizing the county, which now has a good County Union.

SMITH, R. FRANK, County Business Agent of DeKalb County, Decatur, Ga. Has traveled a thousand miles: delivered a number

of speeches; organized several Locals; filled the office of County Secretary-Treasurer and County Business Agent for two years; has been a delegate to a number of State meetings, and is always present at his County meeting. He works in season and out of season for the success of the Union.

SMITH, J. GRADY, Prominent Union Member, Thomaston, Ga.—Has been a persistent worker for the Union Phosphate Company, the Implement Company, and the *Union News*. His work has been done in a quiet way; charter member of his Local Union; has never missed a meeting since joining, and has attended every State meeting.

SMITH, C. W. H., Thomson, Ga.—Speaker and a leading member of the Union; has organized about thirty-five Local Unions, and three County Unions; has made several hundred speeches; has traveled more than ten thousand miles by rail, and nine hundred by private conveyance; was one of the speakers placed in charge of a section by the officials in a recent canvass of the State. Smith is an honest worker.

SMITH, J. T., Swainsboro, Ga.—Has been a good worker for the cause in his county. He has faithfully attended all the Local and County meetings, where he has been instrumental in getting his people interested in co-operation.

SMITH, T. M., Union City, Ga.—Prominent member of the Union, and has been assistant in the Business Agent's office for quite a while, and an efficient and painstaking official.

SMITH, W. R., Tifton, Ga.—County President and an all-round hustler. As County School Commissioner, he did much for the advancement of education in Tift County.

SIBLEY, JOHN A., JR., Milledgeville, Ga.—Was elected Business Agent of the Baldwin County Union at the time of organization, and has held the position to the present time; was delegate to the State Convention at Macon, 1908, and also delegate to National Convention at New Orleans.

STALLINGS, W. L., Kingston, Ga.—Chairman State Agricultural Committee; is extending the work of the Committee to the counties; delegate to State meeting, 1908. Delegate to New Orleans convention in 1908. Stallings is an intelligent man.

SPEER, T. J., JR., Covington, Ga.—Began work as an organizer in 1907. He organized Newton, Putnam, Jasper, and Baldwin Counties; has done good work.

STUART, I. N., Chatsworth, Ga.—Manager of the Warehouse at his place; a patient and hard worker for the advancement of the Union. It was by his efforts that his county built a warehouse, and under his leadership and management it has been a success.

STUART, D. A., Spring Place, Ga.—Has been organizing in Murray County, and has given much of his time to the work.

STANLEY, MRS. MATTIE, Due, Ga.—The first and only lady Business Agent, and one of the best to be found in the State; believes in centralization of business through the business department; one of the principal factors in the upbuilding of the cause in her section of the State.

SNELLING, G. W., Colbert, Ga.—First County Business Agent of his county, serving in that capacity for two years; is one of the best-known business men in his county, and one of the best farmers in his section of the State.

STEPHENSON, J. J., Conyers, Ga.—Organizer. Has been a good worker; made a number of speeches; has done a lot of traveling and organized several Local Unions.

TURNER, L. C., Ex-County Business Agent of Floyd County, Armuchee, Ga.—Was elected President of Floyd Springs Local Union when the Local was organized; has been Trade Agent of his Local Union and County Business Agent for three years; was a member of a committee that purchased the Floyd County Warehouse, the first union warehouse in the State; has traveled through mud, rain, and cold in transacting the business of his County Union, and has never failed to respond when called upon. He believes in diversifying crops, and last year made two bales of cotton on one acre.

TATUM, R. D., Palmetto, Ga.—His work has been done largely in and around his home, where he is President of the finest working Local in the county. He has been President for two years, and the membership has doubled each year. The business done by this Local amounted last year to more than \$10,000.00. He has been a delegate to State, District, and County Unions; was delegate to New Orleans.

TWITTY, J. N., Gainesville, Ga.—A delegate to Growers and Spinners' Conference. Is one of the old-time fighters for reform; a splendid debater; a man of influence.

TYRE, CALVIN, Organizer, Dublin, Ga.—Joined as charter member of the first Local Union organized in Laurens County, and was

commissioned as Organizer by Duckworth at the time; he had an up-hill business for a long time, organizing in Laurens and Glascock Counties; has traveled in Laurens, Wilkinson Glascock, Warren and Hancock Counties. He is constantly visiting Local Unions to strengthen and revive them.

THORNTON, E. J., Douglas, Ga.—One of the first to join in his county, and one who has always been found at his post of duty, and defends the principles of the organization with all whom he comes in contact; a firm believer in reform, and that reform will come through the Farmers' Union; is County Business Agent.

THOMPSON, W. H., Eastman, Ga.—Secretary-Treasurer Warehouse Company; during 1908 warehouse paid fine dividend on stock invested. Warehouse handled all bagging sold at Eastman. Has traveled throughout his and adjoining counties. A persistent worker.

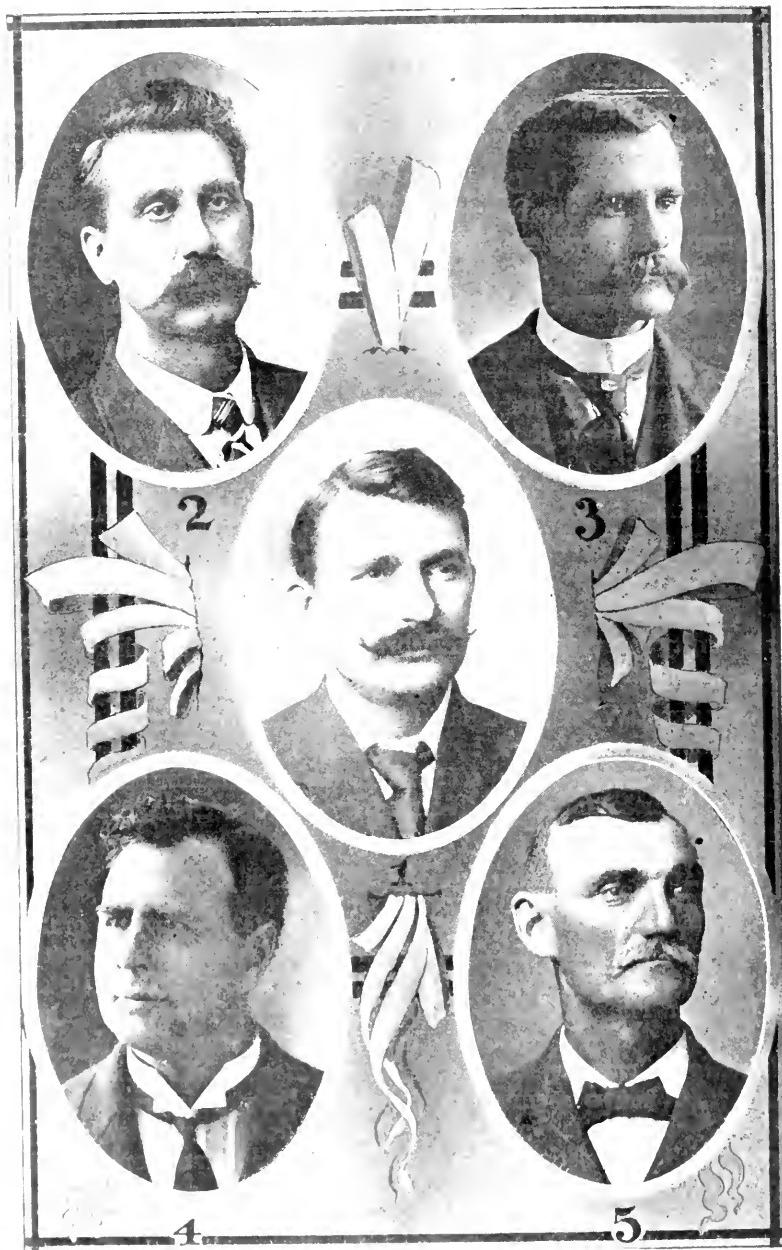
TANKERSLEY, T. P., Leathersville, Ga.—Organizer. Has traveled 975 miles; made a number of speeches and organized twenty-one Local Unions. He has been a faithful worker.

TAYLOR, W. T., Lovett, Ga.—Has traveled three thousand miles, made fifty speeches, organized forty-seven Unions, and did work in fifteen counties.

VICKERS, W. H., Douglas, Ga.—Organizer of Coffee County; has done a great work by his persistent effort in bringing the people of his county and section into the organization; a splendid farmer whose farm is self-supporting, and a great believer in reform.

VENABLE, J. C., Lawrenceville, Ga.—State Chaplain.

WATSON, THOMAS EDWARD, Thomson, Ga.—Lawyer, orator, statesman, and author. The following are some of the books he has written: "The Story of France," "Napoleon," "The Life and Times of Thomas Jefferson," "The Life and Times of Andrew Jackson." He is now conducting, as owner and editor, *The Weekly Jeffersonian* and the *Monthly Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine*. When a member of Congress he was instrumental in having passed a law requiring the railroads to equip their freight cars with automatic couplers. During the same Congress, he gave a start to the rural free delivery of mail; has made speeches for the Farmers' Union in several States, and has attended National meetings. He has responded to every call of the Farmers' Union.



PROMINENT WORKERS, KANSAS DIVISION.

1. ALLEN NAYLOR, Ex Vice President.
2. E. M. ROGERS, Ex State Secretary-Treasurer.
3. P. L. BURT, Ex Member State Executive Committee.
4. JAMES BUTLER, Ex Member National Board of Directors.
5. E. S. NEWLIN, Ex Member State Executive Committee.

WOOTEN, B. J., College Park, Ga.—Joined the Union at the first opportunity; has been a member of the Grange and the Alliance, in which he did good work; has been prominently identified with the Union movement since he joined, first as an Organizer in Elbert and other counties. In the summer of 1907, he was placed in charge of a division of the lecture work, and has been doing this kind of work ever since. He has always gone wherever sent without a murmur or a complaint, and has always devoted every energy to the cause.

WILLIAMS, J. B., Canon, Ga.—Is a leading Union man of Northeast Georgia, and has done as much to organize his county into a big system as any man in the State. He has done this work unselfishly, commanding the respect and the confidence of his people. He is one of the prominent and successful farmers of Hart County; lives at home, and encourages farmers of his section to diversify their crops, thereby improving their land, and to make cotton a surplus crop.

WALL, J. J., Ellaville, Ga.—The last to leave the Alliance, and one of the first to join the Farmers' Union in his county. Attends all of its meetings: has never missed a single meeting since joining. A leader in his community.

WEBB, W. W., Hahira, Ga.—President Sea Island Cotton Company, with headquarters in Savannah; member of committee to ask Congress to put a duty on Egyptian cotton; has been prominently identified with Union movement in Lowndes and adjoining counties since the introduction of the Union into that section of the State. Is a good worker.

WALRAVEN, A. H., Dallas, Ga.—Has organized a number of local Unions and traveled many miles; was Organizer for Walker County, where, as he says, he wore out a new buggy and came near freezing to death while organizing the county; has been working largely in his own county since, and is manager of the Union Warehouse at Dallas.

WIMBERLY, F. D., Cochran, Ga.—Was prominent in the Alliance and State Lecturer in that order. After the war, spent his nights in study of questions relating to the farmer. After overthrow of the Alliance, awaited the coming of another organization. Joined the Union as soon as an opportunity presented itself. Has been working every since. Wherever he goes, he speaks and works for the Union.

WALKER, WILLIAM J., Organizer, Rome, Ga.—Charter member of his Local Union; Assistant Business Agent of his county; traveled all over his and adjoining counties, making speeches for the Union; member of committee that bought warehouse; County Lecturer of Floyd County, and a general hustler.

WRIGHT, W. L., Tate, Ga.—Joined the Union November, 1907, as charter member of his Local; has visited the Local Unions in his and adjoining counties, where he encouraged the membership and urged the outsiders to join.

WOOD, W. C., McDonough, Ga.—Business Agent Henry County; has been delegate to all the State meetings since joining; director Carmical Implement Company and Union Phosphate Company. He is a successful and prosperous farmer.

WALLER, R. J., Swainsboro, Ga.—Has organized in four counties; has traveled several hundred miles and made a number of speeches. Attended National Convention at New Orleans.

WALKER, D. F., Gaston, Ga.—Has traveled about one thousand miles, making speeches and organizing Unions. He has done good and faithful work.

WHITNEY, G. C., Cherrylog, Ga.—One of the liveliest local Business Agents to be found in the ranks of the organization; a strong believer in co-operation, and believes in living the principles of the Farmers' Union.

WARD, J. B., Cork, Ga.—One among the leaders of the cause in his section, and the liveliest Business Agent, having served in that capacity since its organization in his county; one who believes in doing things co-operatively.

WILSON, WILLIAM G., Craytonia, Ga.—One of the hardest workers of his section; has been Business Agent since the Union was organized in his county; believes in co-operation, and is always found laboring for advancement of the farmer.

WHIGHAM, W. L., Whigham, Ga.—One among the leading Business Agents of South Georgia, and a man who has labored hard for the cause in his section, especially for cane growers.

WALKER, W. P., Griffin, Ga.—Has done quite a lot of lecturing and is one of the best farmers in the country; has won many prizes at State fairs.

YOUNMANS, S. L., Jesup, Ga.—Has traveled 600 miles; organized eleven local Unions; has been County Trade Agent, Director of warehouse, and is now County Organizer and Lecturer.

CHAPTER XXVII.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES—ILLINOIS, INDIANA, KANSAS, KENTUCKY.

ILLINOIS.

BAIN, W. A., Vice-President, Benton, Ill.—The subject of this sketch was born on a farm in Franklin County, Illinois, February, 1855; was charter member of the first farmers' organization in his county. In 1889, was elected Secretary of his local organization, and has held that position ever since; in 1903, was elected National President of the Association. Two other organizations came into prominence in his State, namely: the Farmers' Relief Association and the Farmers' Social and Economic Union. He, with others, thought it best to consolidate, and after repeated efforts on the part of the committee, they were consolidated at Pinkneyville, May, 1906. He was elected National President of the combined organization, which was to be known as the Farmers' Union. He at once appointed a committee to confer with the officers of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, or with a like committee if they should appoint one, and in January, 1907, the articles of consolidation were perfected, and in March, the same year, at Marion, the Farmers' Union became the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, and was organized as a State Union, he being elected Vice-President, and was re-elected at the convention of 1908.

BURKETT, JOE, Orchardville, Ill.—Born in Wayne County, Ill., October 29, 1866, on a farm. Has spent greater part of his life as a farmer and merchant; became a member of the Union in 1907, serving first as Local Business Agent, and was elected State Business Agent in August, 1908; has studied and worked particularly for co-operation among the farmers; has done excellent work for the Union in his State.

BLAKELY, VIRGIL, Millshoals, Ill.—Has been active in the organizing work in his State. He has made a number of speeches; has done a lot of traveling, and organized several Unions.

BENNETT, G. W., Benton, Ill.—Ex-State Executive Committee-man; active worker in F. R. A. and Farmers' Union; was fraternal delegate to second Convention of the National Union.

CREWS, W. D., Murphysboro, Ill.—Editor of the *Union Farmer*. Was born in Jackson, Illinois, on December 7, 1856. He was raised on a farm, and while yet a small boy, made a regular business of working in the field at whatever a boy can do. He attended the common schools a part of every winter until he became a young man, after which he attended college for a short while and taught school for about ten years, teaching in winter, but usually farming in summer. Later he settled down to straight farming for a number of years. While engaged in the dual business of farming and teaching, he was married in 1887 to Miss Dorothy Porter, also a country school teacher. Their union was blessed with a family of five children. By hard work and close economy they have made for themselves a nice, comfortable farm home. During six years from the spring of 1886 to 1892, Crews was actively engaged in the work of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, an order somewhat similar to the present Farmers' Union. He was a charter member and Secretary of the first Lodge organized within his reach, and was the last County President the order ever had in his county. In the early spring of 1900, he met with about seventy-five other farmers of his county for the purpose of making arrangements to go into some sort of farmers' organization. On his own motion, this meeting appointed an investigating committee to learn whether there was in existence at that time any organization suited to their needs. As Crews was the first named on that committee, it fell to his lot to conduct the correspondence and investigation. The committee was instructed to report at the next meeting, which was to be held at the same place two weeks later. That two weeks of correspondence and investigation convinced Crews that no farmers' organization then at work would suit the farmers of his locality. So, after much careful thought, he planned and named the Farmers' Social and Economic Union, an organization almost like the F. E. & C. U. A., as it was organized later. When that body of Jackson County farmers again met to hear the report of their investigating committee, Crews presented and explained the plan of the Farmers' Social and Economic Union, which, after some discussion, was adopted without any change in either name or plan. Thus, on the night of April 27, 1900, came into existence the first real up-to-date Farmers' Union ever organized. Crews also formulated almost all of the first constitution and by-laws of

that Union. He was elected first State Organizer of the order, and afterwards, for two years, was President of its Board of Trustees. Later, he was the first to propose a consolidation of the Farmers' Social and Economic Union with two other farmers' organizations, which was accomplished in the spring of 1906. The new organization being named the Farmers' Union. When, in October, 1902, Gresham organized the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, it was so wonderfully like the Farmers' Social and Economic Union, that egotism might have caused Crews to think that the Texas Union had been copied from the Illinois Union. But Crews says, instead of thinking this, he took it for granted that Gresham was inspired by the same God of heaven, who suggested the plan of the Farmers' Social and Economic Union. When it was found that the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America was so far outstripping its older brother, both as to spreading and doing co-operative business, Crews, through the *Union Farmer*, of which he had been editor since April, 1902, and which was the official organ of the Farmers' Union, began to agitate the idea of consolidating with, or merging into, the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America. He corresponded with Newt. Gresham, H. N. Gaines, O. P. Pyle, and others, with a view to consolidation. When, in the summer of 1906, he thought the opportunity was ripe, he suggested to the Board of Trustees of the Farmers' Union the advisability of calling a meeting to appoint a committee to attend the National Union of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America to seek a consolidation with or admission into the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America. The meeting was called and the committee was appointed, with the result that on March 28, 1907, Barrett received the Farmers' Union into the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America. The same meeting that merged the Farmers' Union into the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America also transferred the ownership of the *Union Farmer* from the Union to W. D. Crews, who had up to that time simply edited it for the Union. Since that time, he has been running the paper as a helper of the Union work in Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana. In connection with the work of editing the paper, he has all the time been a practical farmer and a member in good standing in the Union. He attended the State Convention of Missouri in 1907 and 1908, the Memphis Convention in January, 1908, and the State Convention of Kentucky, in 1908, and represented Illinois in the National Convention at Fort Worth.

in September, 1908. The *Union Farmer*, under great difficulties, is still battling for the cause of unionism, making headway slowly and gradually, and hoping for the day of the farmers' victory.

CRAIG, J. T., Elizabethtown, Ill.—Member of Illinois Executive Committee since August 18, 1908; an earnest worker in the cause.

DAVIS, J. C., DeSoto, Ill.—Has done good work in his section in helping to organize the farmers; was Lecturer and Deputy State Organizer of the farmers' organization of his State before they were merged with the Farmers' Union.

EVANS, A. H., Tamaroa, Ill.—President of Illinois State Union. Is a native of Morrow County, Ohio, where he was born June 2, 1851, he being of Welch and Dutch descent. In 1854, he moved with his father to Perry County, Illinois, and as soon as he was old enough, began to work on a farm. His father died in the Federal Army in 1864, and young Evans being the only boy in the family, had to support his mother and two sisters. He has been a member of the Grange and Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association and the Farmers' Social and Economic Union, of which he was State President, and when this organization was merged with the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union in 1906, A. H. Evans was elected President of the Illinois Division, which position he still holds. Has served in the State Legislature.

GREEN, W. D., Kell, Ill.—Was born on a farm in Marion County, November 15, 1878; was educated in the public schools at Centralia and in his home town; attended Normal School at Alma, Illinois; joined the Union May 1, 1907, and was elected President of his Union at the time; was elected a member of the State Executive Committee, August, 1907, and is now serving as Secretary of the State Executive Committee. He is a staunch Union man, and a faithful worker.

HUNTER, E. B., Murphyboro, Ill.—Secretary of Farmers' Social and Economic Union practically all through its separate existence; Secretary of the Farmers' Union until it was merged with the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America. State Secretary-Treasurer of Illinois Division of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America since March, 1907; was a fraternal delegate to second convention of the National Union, and has done a lot of good, solid work.

HENSON, J. F., Orchardville, Ill.—Was elected State Organizer and State Chaplain in 1907, and was re-elected Chaplain, 1908;

was elected a member of the State Executive Committee at the convention in 1908. He had done some organizing, and is serving his State well as a member of the Executive Committee. He has done much in his State to make the Union go.

HAYS, H. C., Orchardville, Ill.—President of Marion County Union ever since it was organized, in 1907; has done some organizing; seems to be a good worker.

JONES, J. W., Sand Ridge, Ill.—Has been prominently identified with the various farmers' movements in his State; was National Lecturer of one of these for two years. He has assisted in organizing Local Unions in the State of Illinois.

KETTERMAN, G. W., Ewing, Ill.—Ex-State Executive Committeeman and fraternal delegate to second convention of National Union.

MYERS, H. A., Orchardville, Ill.—has been lecturing and organizing in his State. During his term as Organizer, he has taken in several hundred members.

RIGGS, JOHN T., Elizabethtown, Ill.—Was born in Hardin County, Illinois, January 27, 1869, on a farm five miles from Cave-in-Rock; was educated in the district schools; was elected Assessor and Treasurer of Hardin County in the fall of 1897, in which capacity he served four years. He first became identified with farmers' organizations at the age of seventeen. By his energetic work a County Union was organized, August 6, 1907, he being chosen President for the remainder of the year, and elected again in December for a full term; was elected delegate to the State meeting, August, 1907, which body elected him a member of the Executive Committee of the State. Mr. Riggs is one among the active workers of the Union of the State.

SANDERS, G. B., Sparta, Ill.—Has been connected with the various farmers' organizations of his State for many years; joined the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union upon its introduction into Illinois; has organized in Illinois and Missouri; is Chairman of the State Executive Committee. In 1905, was State President of a farmers' organization in his State, composed of three different organizations, styled "The Farmers' Union."

SIMS, M. M., McLeansboro, Ill.—Ex-State Executive Committeeman. He was a worker in the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association and other farmers' organizations. An earnest worker.



STATE OFFICIALS, FLORIDA DIVISION.

1. M. S. KNIGHT, State President.
2. J. R. PUMPHREY, Secretary Treasurer.
3. S. W. LOCKE, State Lecturer. 4. C. E. Pfeifer, Vice President.
5. G. O. BUSH, State Organizer.

WALKER, J. M., Olmstead, Ill.—Has been a member of the Farmers' Union ever since it existed in his State; is President of his local Union, and a member of the State Executive Committee. He is working to establish the Union warehouse plan in his State, and is doing all that he can do for the cause.

WEINMEISTER, JOHN K., Washington, Ind.—Joined the Union in 1904; was appointed Organizer in Arkansas May, 1905, by J. T. Batten, who was then State President; worked in Arkansas till February; went to Missouri upon call to help H. M. Ray, the State Organizer, to bring that State to statehood, which they succeeded in accomplishing March 20, 1907; was then sent to Indiana as State Organizer to bring that State to statehood. Indiana had previously been organized by Brother Martin, of Arkansas, but failed. Arrived in Indiana April, 1907. He found twenty-two Unions in the State, some of which were organized by our Organizers, and some by the consolidation of the Farmers' Union of Illinois. There are now 150 Unions in the State. He has had uphill work, but the outlook is brighter now than any time in the history of the Union, and hope to attain statehood in the near future.

ALLEN, ALVAN, Jetmore, Kan.—Ex-State Secretary of the Farmers' Union; has done good work.

BUTLER, JAMES, Topeka, Kan.—Ex-Member of the National Board of Directors. Was born in Ross County, Ohio, October 22, 1856. He settled in Kansas in 1878; was a farmer and stock grower for years in that State. He is one of the best informed men in the United States on the principles of co-operation; held the position of steward of the State Hospital, located at Topeka, Kan., 1893-94, under Governor Lewelling's administration. He was a member of the State grain inspection department of Kansas in 1899; has held the position of superintendent and assistant superintendent of the State Industrial School for Boys, located at Topeka. He is the author of the "Expose of the Grain Trust," copyrighted in 1902; promoter of the farmers' co-operative elevator system, organized at Salina, Kan., May 15-16, 1901; promoter of the Farmers' Co-operative Shipping Association, organized at Topeka, December 2-3, 1902, and chartered May 28, 1903. He was elected a member of the National Board of Directors of the Farmers' Union at Texarkana in 1906.

BURT, F. L., Hallet, Kan.—Ex-member of the board; was born at Wabaunsee, Kan., in 1866. He was one of the first in the

county to go into the Farmers' Union, and is President of the County Union and an officer in a farmers' telephone company. He has been prominent in politics, church and Sunday school work in Wabaunsee and Hodgman counties.

BURTON, MRS., Kansas.—Lecturer of the Kansas State Union. The second woman to be elected to a State office in the Farmers' Union. Mrs. Burton responded in a very eloquent address to the address of welcome at the last State meeting. She also served on important committees.

BACHMAN, F., Great Bend, Kan.—Ex-member of the board; lives near Great Bend, and has a large wheat farm. He has spent all his life on the farm with the exception of ten years, during which he served the Santa Fe Railway as a locomotive engineer and fireman. He quit the Santa Fe Railway during the A. R. U. strike in 1894.

CANFIELD, MR., Kansas.—Vice-President of the Kansas State Union. Unanimously elected at the last State meeting. He has held other important offices in the Farmers' Union.

EAMES, W. B., Delphos, Kan.—A member of the State Executive Committee of Kansas State Union. A good worker for the Union cause.

GANT, JOSEPH L., Forest City, Kan.—Ex-member of the board; was born in the State of Illinois. In the year 1880 he moved to Barber County, Kansas, where he has lived since that time. At the age of nineteen he took charge of the ranch, his parents moving to Medicine Lodge. Later he engaged extensively in the raising of cattle and horses, which occupation he is following at present. In February, 1908, Mr. Gant was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Farmers' Union of the State of Kansas.

GAINS, H. N., Topeka, Kan.—Ex-editor of the *Farmers' Advocate*, published in Topeka, and through the columns of this paper aided in the earlier movement of the Union in the State. He is ex-State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and a strong writer.

HEWINS, EDWIN H., Topeka, Kan.—Ex-President of the Farmers' Union of Kansas. He was born on a farm in Shawnee County in 1865. He has spent his life on the farm. Mr. Hewins has long been interested in farmers' reform movements.

MC AULIFF, MAURICE, Salina, Kan.—President of Kansas State Union; lives near Salina, on a big, well-improved farm. He has been the assessor of his township. He is a jolly and progressive citizen of Kansas, though he was born in Ireland; emigrated to America when he was about eighteen years old. He is greatly interested in the Farmers' Union, and the indications are that he will have things going in Kansas.

McQUILLEN, J. E., Heizer, Kan.—Has been active in reform work in Kansas for a long time; served as Representative in the Kansas Legislature; was first President of the Farmers' Union in Kansas.

MONGOLD, SCOTT, Salina, Kan.—Has held position of County Secretary, and is a good active Union worker.

NEWLIN, E. S., Emporia, Kan.—Ex-Secretary of the Board of Directors. Was born in Lyon County, Kansas, in 1862. He was elected to the office of sheriff of Lyon County in 1892, and after his term expired moved back to the farm, five miles southwest of Emporia. His time is devoted to farming, feeding and handling cattle.

NAYLOR, ALEX, Cimaron, Kan.—A bright young man; has filled the position of Vice-President of Kansas Union one term.

ROGERS, E. M., Topeka, Kan.—Ex-Secretary-Treasurer of Kansas State Union. Was born in Clermont County, Ohio. He moved with his parents to Kansas, in which State he began life's battles at the age of fourteen; received his education in the public business and State schools. He has combined farming and teaching since 1884; has been allied with reform movements since beginning his active work as a teacher. On August 20, 1908, he was elected State Secretary-Treasurer of the Farmers' Union for Kansas.

RORK, M. V., Topeka, Kan.—Active in reform work for many years; has done lecturing work in many of the Union States; believes in the progressive principles of co-operation, and works to demonstrate co-operation. An able man, and has no superior as a blackboard demonstrator and lecturer.

ROADHOUSE, ELI P., Kansas.—Secretary of the Kansas State Union. Elected at the last State meeting.

BARNETT, R. L., State Secretary-Treasurer of Kentucky, Paducah, Ky.—Was born near Pine Level, in Montgomery County,

Alabama, December 23, 1863, and removed with his parents to Cado Parish, Louisiana, in 1874; from there moved to Hunt County, Texas, 1876; married 1884; joined the Grange 1886; nominated for district clerk for his county 1888; joined the Farmers' Alliance 1889; nominated for Representative for Twenty-third District of Texas 1889; joined the Farmers' Union 1903; has been a delegate from his local Union to every County Union, and a delegate to every State Union, and a delegate to every National Union from the State of Texas up to the time of leaving the State, March, 1906. He assisted Newt. Gresham in organizing the Tennessee State Union, going from there to Kentucky as State Organizer, where he organized his first County Union, August, 1906; was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Kentucky State Union at Paducah, August 7, 1908. R. L. Barnett has been a persistent worker for the Union cause, and in his work has faced many a hard proposition, but he has been equal to the occasion, and the Kentucky State Union stands as a monument to his perseverance and energy. He has been in the forefront battling for the cause. While organizing in Kentucky, he was appointed one of a committee to sell the tobacco of the Union members, and was able to get the biggest price for it paid west of the Tennessee River.

GRADY, REV. JOHN, Gilbertsville, Ky.—Is the present Chairman of the State Executive Board of Kentucky. He is a Baptist minister, and an ardent supporter of the Union; has made many strong speeches in the interest of the cause.

JOHNSON, ROBERT, State President, Tolu, Ky.—Was born in Kentucky May 12, 1868. Among his folks are to be found leading politicians, orators and preachers. He is a relative of President Andrew Johnson. At nineteen years of age he entered school and remained for eight years, receiving a good education. He joined the Farmers' Union February, 1908, and was elected President of Crittenden County Union shortly after. At the organization of the Farmers' Union in Kentucky, August 8, 1908, he was elected State President. He has been an ardent speaker, having made about 150 speeches in behalf of the Union since having been elected President.

JONES, SAMUEL H., Cunningham, Ky.—He is a native of Kentucky, where he was born; has been a farmer all of his life; joined the Union in May, 1906, and was elected President of his local the night he joined; was elected County Organizer and

Lecturer August, 1906; elected County President January, 1908, and elected a member of the State Executive Committee, 1908.

JONES, J. F., Tolu, Ky.—Is the present County Business Agent of Crittenden County.

LATTA, T. B., Fulton, Ky.—Was elected a member of the State Executive Board in August, 1908. He is agreeable in his work.

TAPI, M. B., Woodville, Ky.—Was born in Henderson County, Kentucky, in 1862; joined the Farmers' Union at the first opportunity; was elected County President at the organization of same and served for two years; was elected a member of the State Executive Committee, of which he was made Secretary. Always has his shoulder to the wheel in the interest of the Farmers' Union.

THOMAS, L., Milber, Ky.—Was a delegate to the State Convention at Paducah, where he was elected a member of the State Executive Committee; is President of his County Union, and has been a faithful member since the beginning of the Union in his State.

WILSON, AUBREY L., Hickory Grove, Ky.—Was born June, 1883, on a farm in Graves County, Kentucky. His entire life has been spent on a farm, with the exception of a few months he spent in school at Henderson, Tennessee, and Mayfield, Kentucky. He joined the Farmers' Union the first time he ever heard its principles expounded. As a speaker, he ranks high. He was elected Vice-President of the State Union in Paducah, Ky., in August, 1908. In the capacity of Vice-President, he has traveled through the State, making speeches in defense of the principles of the Union. He has done work that has had its effect upon the advancement of the order, and is still active.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES—LOUISIANA, MISSISSIPPI, MISSOURI.

AMBROSE, J. A., Ruston, La.—Is first of all a Baptist minister of the old school, who became associated with the Farmers' Union as soon as it made its advent into his section, and from the very first took an active part in organizing work; was in the organization of the State Union, and was made Chaplain, which position he has held continuously since, having been re-elected from year to year without opposition. Ambrose is a model farmer, and one of the few hill farmers of Louisiana who has made a success of farming. He attributes his success to having always raised his living, together with his feed for his stock on his farm, and only raising cotton as a surplus.

ALFORD, W. R., Ft. Jesup, La.—Was one of the men who left Texas to carry the gospel of Unionism to Louisiana. He was actively engaged in organization work in the northwestern part of the State. After Louisiana obtained her charter and organized her own State Union, and took over her organization, Alford continued to do local work in connection with his work of teaching school, and is still engaged in teaching in Vernon Parish.

ARCENEAUX, J. F., Brittany, La.—Young Arceneaux was one of the many young men of Louisiana who became associated with the organization from the very first, and, being a teacher of Ascension Parish, he devoted his best efforts to the organization, and was from the start an acknowledged leader in his parish, having served as Parish Secretary-Treasurer one term; also Parish Lecturer one term; was a delegate to the State Union held at Winnfield in 1908, where he took an active part in the proceedings of the convention, serving on important committees; was nominated as a candidate for Secretary-Treasurer, and was only beaten by eight votes. He was later nominated as one of the delegates to the National Union, and won out on the first ballot. Brother Arceneaux was made one of the Committee on

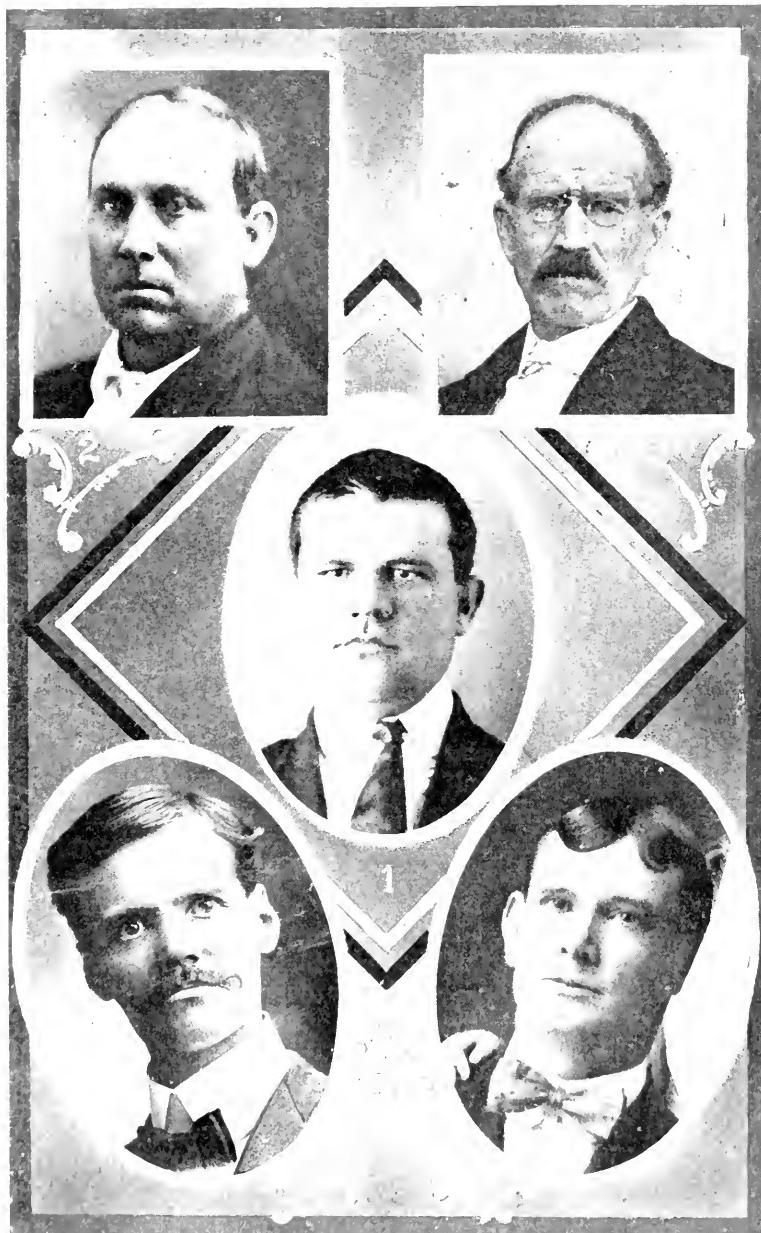
Credentials at Fort Worth, and also held other important committee appointments.

ANTONY, MISS MAUDE, Rattan, La.—She has been a good and faithful worker in the Pleasant Hill local, and is doing all she can for the Union.

BOYETT, J. W., JR., Winnfield, La.—Ex-Secretary-Treasurer, and Lecturer of Louisiana; was born in Winnfield, La., in 1875, in which town he is still living; worked on a farm till grown; had few school advantages, but improved every opportunity, attending the schools near him for a few months each year till of age; married Miss Josie Jordan, of Winnfield Parish, 1899; bought a farm in 1899, upon which he lived till elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Louisiana Division of the Farmers' Union, April 4, 1905; served in this capacity till August 1, 1908, when he was elected Organizer and Lecturer for his State; was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Union Cotton Company, with offices in New Orleans. J. W. Boyett, Jr., is one of the leading men of the State, having joined as a charter member of his local, and was elected President of one of the first locals organized in his State, since which time he has been active in pushing Union matters. He has attended all the State meetings in Louisiana, and all the National Conventions, where he has held prominent places on important committees. Boyett is a hustler.

BULLARD, J. E., President State Union, Belmont, La.—Has been a prominent leader in behalf of the farming class since 1896. He was elected Vice-President of the Louisiana State Union at the time of its organization, which position he held for two years. He was elected State President in 1907, and re-elected in 1908. His demands for recognition of the farming class were such that Governor Sanders appointed him a member of the State Board of Agriculture, which appointment he declined. His personal qualities make his friendship very highly appreciated by those with whom he comes in contact.

BOYETT, JASPER, Winnfield, La.—Was born January, 22, 1872; is a son of J. W. Boyett, Sr., who lives eight miles east of Winnfield. His father is a successful farmer. Jasper Boyett joined the Alliance in 1880; joined the Union at the first opportunity, and when the State was organized was chosen Assistant State Organizer. In July, 1906, the State was divided into two districts, and he was elected State Organizer for the northern half of Louisiana. In 1907 he was re-elected to same position. At



STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, FLORIDA DIVISION.

1. J. A. JACKSON, Chairman.

2. J. L. SHEPARD. 3. A. L. BUCHANAN.

4. ERIC VON ALXSON.

5. W. H. HAYS.

the State Union at Winnfield, in 1908, he was appointed Chairman of the Organizing Committee. He is a forceful talker and his untiring energy and zealous faith in the work made him win.

BROOMFIELD, J. W., Leesville, La.—One of the most active men in Vernon Parish, is Broomfield; he has devoted more time to the Farmers' Union movement in his section than any other man; it is mainly due to his efforts that the warehouse at Leesville was ever built, and it is also due to his determination that it has succeeded as signally as it has.

BLACK, C. C., Deerford, La.—Was one of the first Organizers of his section, and did some good work in the early days; was on the State Executive Committee for one term; was a delegate to the State Union at all its meetings, except the last.

BRUNLEY, J. B., Clyde, La.—Has been organizing for his parish; has assisted in building a warehouse, and has done a lot of other work.

BAIRD, F. T., Moorehouse, La.—Ex-Vice-President of the State Union and a big planter.

CULBERSON, DR. N. A., Bienville, La.—Was born on a farm in Union Parish, Louisiana, in 1857. All the literary training he had was gotten at a cross-roads schoolhouse. At the age of ten, his father and mother died. He joined the Farmers' Union in 1905 at Bear Creek; was a delegate to the State Convention held at Ruston on the following April. He was elected a delegate to attend the first National meeting at Texarkana, and was a member of several committees during that meeting. He is President of the Union warehouse at Arcadia. He served as President Holder local for one year; is Chairman of the Louisiana Trade Association, and is now a member of the State Executive Committee.

COBB, W. M., Many, La.—The present President of the Parish Union of Sabine Parish is W. M. Cobb, a man who has done as much for unionism in the State as any man of his means and ability. Cobb is not an aspiring man, but is willing to do whatever he can in a quiet way. He has had associated with him all along that staunch man, I. N. McCollister, and to them is due the many accomplishments of the splendid system of warehouses in that parish, and other enterprises.

DELOACH, J. N. Winnfield, La.—He is an example of the successful self-made man—of the man who fights his way bravely

and purposefully through trials, hardships, and difficulties to success. Was born at Sills, Winn Parish, Louisiana, May, 23, 1871. When he was only five his father moved to Rapides Parish, where young DeLoach aided in the farm work. He attended the common schools one or two months in the summer and two or three months in the winter until he was seventeen. He thus obtained the rudiments of an education, to which reading and observation added to greatly as he grew older. In his young manhood he was an active member of the Farmers' Alliance, and served as President of his Sub-Alliance. He has been a leader in school advancement in his section, and through his efforts and advocacy the parish schools are excellent. He has always been keenly interested in everything that advanced the interests of the farmer and laborer, and it was natural for him to enlist under the Union banner as soon as it entered his section. His deep interest in, and understanding of farming matters caused his quick recognition. In 1908, he was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Louisiana State Union, where he did fine service.

DAVIS, J. M., Crowley, La.—Began as a Local Organizer in the early days of the Farmers' Union movement in the State, and has organized more locals, doubtless, than any other person, save Freeman DeSoto, in the State, and when DeSoto resigned as one of the State Organizers, Davis was appointed to fill the vacancy, and to his efforts are due in great measure the splendid state of organization in Southwest Louisiana, known as the French section, at the State Convention held at Winnfield in July, 1908. He was elected a member of the State Executive Committee to succeed R. Lee Mills, from that part of the State. His last success was in organizing the rice growers into the Farmers' Union.

DESOTO, F., Cottonport, La.—The line of his work has been confined to organizing and lecturing. He has traveled more than 10,000 miles in discharging his duties, and organized seventy-two local Unions.

DOSS, D. C., Hico, La.—Joined the Union in 1904, and was elected first President of his local Union; was first President of his District Union; delegate to the first State Union, and has done good work.

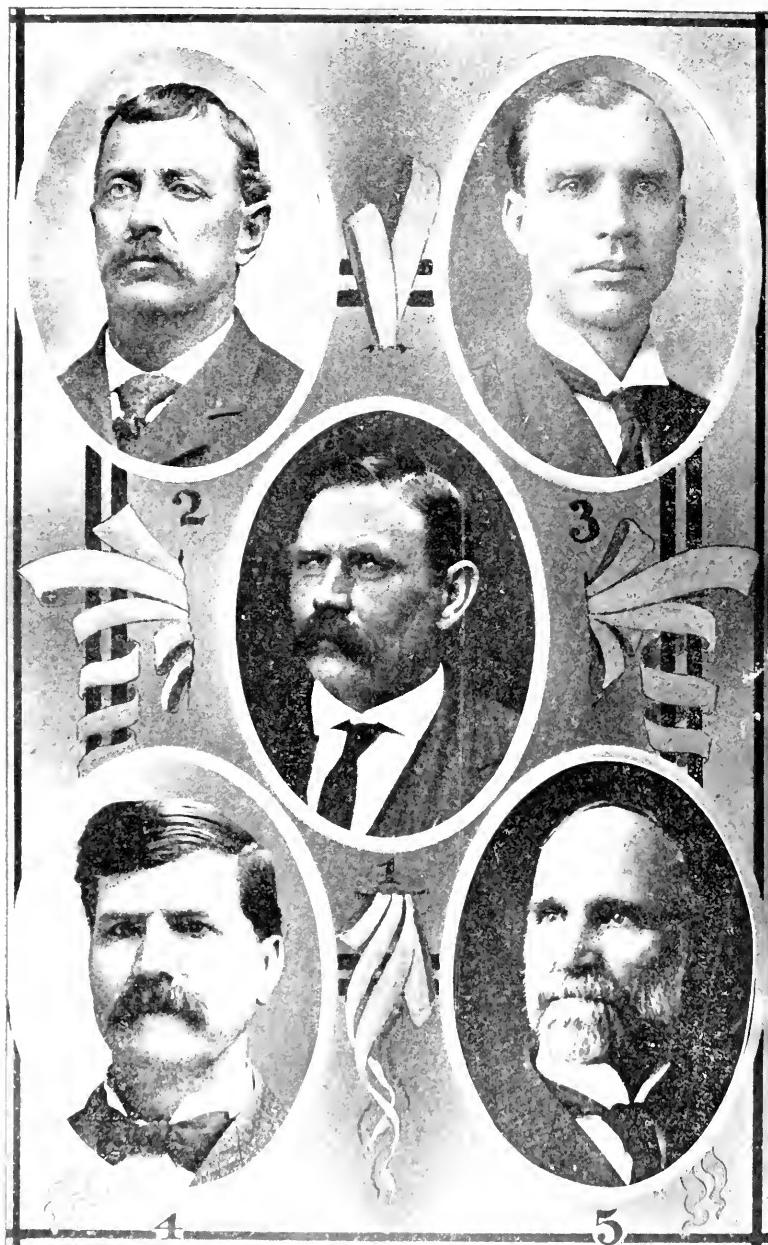
GORE, JOSEPH M., Ruston, La.—His work has been done chiefly as Lecturer; has attended all the conventions in his parish, and many in adjoining parishes. He has devoted practically all his time to the work of the Union, and has established an information

and census bureau for the collecting and disseminating of information relative to the work of the Union.

GUILLORY, N., JR., Mamon, La.—Organizer for District No. 4, 1906. During the year, he organized 78 local Unions. He also organized three warehouses. During this time he traveled several thousand miles and made many speeches. He did good work for the Union.

HOLMES, ELD. L. N., ex-State President, and ex-National Chaplain of the Farmers' Union, Bernice, La.—The subject of this sketch, Eld. L. N. Holmes, resides on his farm near Bernice, La. He is the son of H. W. Holmes, Sr., who moved from the State of Alabama to Louisiana in 1855, when Eld. L. N. Holmes was born on the 25th day of June, 1856. His father early enlisted in the Confederate army, leaving the subject of this sketch to the care of his mother and older brothers. His mother died in 1862, when young Holmes went to live with his aunt. The boyhood days of young Holmes, when he ought to have been in school, were spent on a farm, owing to the fact that there was no school for him to attend, the Civil War having disorganized society and broken up the schools of his State. He, however, attended a country school for a few months during winter; the balance of his education was secured by study at night by the light of a pine knot fire. He with fifty of his neighbors organized a Farmers' Club in Lincoln Parish. This organization was later merged with the Farmers' Alliance, and L. N. Holmes became an active organizer in the Alliance. In 1904 he joined the Farmers' Union, and was one of the moving spirits in the promotion of the work in his State. April 4, 1905, he was elected the first State President of Louisiana. He was also elected National Chaplain at the formation of the National Union at Texarkana, in which capacity he served until the Fort Worth meeting in 1908. He has been an ardent admirer and is a persistent supporter of the Union cause ever since its introduction. He is a strong and faithful member and officer.

HANCOCK, J. T. M., Ruston, La.—Has been prominently associated with the movement in his parish all along, having been warehouse manager for the Ruston Warehouse Company since its organization. Hancock has been in all the annual meetings of the State Union, and has rendered good service to the membership as a whole, as well as to his immediate section. He served one term on the State Board. He is another model farmer, having one of the prettiest farms in his parish.



STATE OFFICIALS, MISSOURI DIVISION.

1. N. H. SUMMIT, President State Union.
2. JOHN A. MILLER, Vice President. 3. J. W. SHAW, State Organizer.
 J. J. E. FULKERSON, State Business Agent.
5. L. P. LETHY, State Secretary-Treasurer.

HESTER, Q. A., Calhoun, La.—A school teacher who has been prominently associated with the F. E. & C. U. of A. in his section, having done organizing work as a Local Organizer, when he could spare the time from his school duties. He has served his parish in the State convention a number of times, and also represented the State in the National Union at Memphis, Tenn.

HILBURN, W. W., New Orleans, La.—Has been connected with the Louisiana State Union for more than two years; was assistant to Mr. Boyett for one year, and has been in the office since Mr. DeLoach was elected; joined the Union about two years ago, and has been active in the work.

JONES, W. S., M. D., Jonesboro, La.—Was born in Louisiana in 1861; was educated in the common schools of his native State, and later studied medicine and had the degree of M. D. conferred upon him in 1886; was raised on the farm, and has farmed in connection with his practice; joined the Union in 1906, and has taken an active part ever since; has represented his people at State and National meetings. He is a member of the State Executive Committee.

KELLY, C. R., Duback, La.—Was born in Union Parish, Louisiana, February, 1876; was educated in the public schools of the county and has farmed all his life. During the last days of the Alliance, he became identified with that noble order, remaining in same till its final dissolution. Early in the life of the Union, he became a member, and was immediately elected Lecturer of his local, serving since that time in that position; also as local Secretary-Treasurer of the Executive Committee for the local; Secretary to the Duback District Union; secretary warehouse company; member of the board of directors for warehouse; President of the parish Union; Chairman Parish Executive Committee, and at present Lecturer of the parish. Two and one-half years ago was elected on the Executive Committee for the State Union, serving since then continuously, being secretary to the committee for past year and a half.

KENNEDY, R. B., Winnfield, La.—Has been prominently connected with the movement in his parish from the very earliest history of the organization in Winnfield Parish, and one who has worked harder and did more to make the State central warehouse a success than any other man in the State, having devoted his personal time and attention to this undertaking, to the detriment of his personal affairs. He was one of the first Board of Directors

and has been retained on the board continuously since its organization. He served as President for one term, and was arranging to open the warehouse up and run same with his own capital, when it burned.

KLEINPETER, J. B., Baker, La.—Did some local organizing in East Baton Rouge Parish during the early days of the organization, and represented his parish in the State Convention held at Baton Rouge in 1907, and at this meeting he was chosen as a delegate to the National Convention held at Memphis, Tenn. Kleinpeter is one of the best posted sugar men of Louisiana; has held positions of honor and trust.

KLING, A. A., Donaldsonville, La.—Born in Ascension Parish in 1860, and was educated in the parish schools. When twenty-one years of age bought a farm, which he has farmed practically ever since. Was a charter member of the Dutch Town Local Union, and is now Lecturer. Organized the Farmers' Union Ginning Company, which has been very successful. Has served as deputy sheriff and parish treasurer. In 1908 was elected assessor of the parish. Is a loyal Union man.

MCCOLLISTER, I. N., Member National Board of Directors, Many, La.—Was born in Sabine Parish, Louisiana, 1854. Young McCollister had a hard struggle with the world, his father dying, and the support of the family fell to him. He was then but seventeen years of age, but he faithfully provided for them. His educational advantages were very limited, but he studied and improved every opportunity. He joined the Farmers' Alliance in 1889, and 1891 was elected manager of an Alliance store in his parish. He served the Alliance as Parish Secretary, and later as President. He joined the Farmers' Union upon its advent into his community as a charter member. He has been a member of the Executive Committee since the organization of the State Union, and for some time has been chairman of that committee. He was elected a member of the National Board of Directors at the first Texarkana meeting, 1905, and was re-elected at Texarkana, 1906, Little Rock 1907, and Forth Worth 1908. As a member of the National Board he has done effective work for the Union, and has won the esteem of all his co-laborers by the way in which he has done that work. Served one year as State Business Agent. Is manager of the Farmers' Union warehouse at Maney.

MILLS, R. LEE, Opelousas, La.—Was born at Armandville, La., December 5, 1870, and joined the Farmers' Alliance at the age of

eighteen. Was a charter member of his local Farmers' Union, and served as its President. Was elected Parish President, which place he now holds. At the State Convention in 1907 was elected a member of the State Executive Committee, and in 1908 State Vice-President; has aided in organizing many locals.

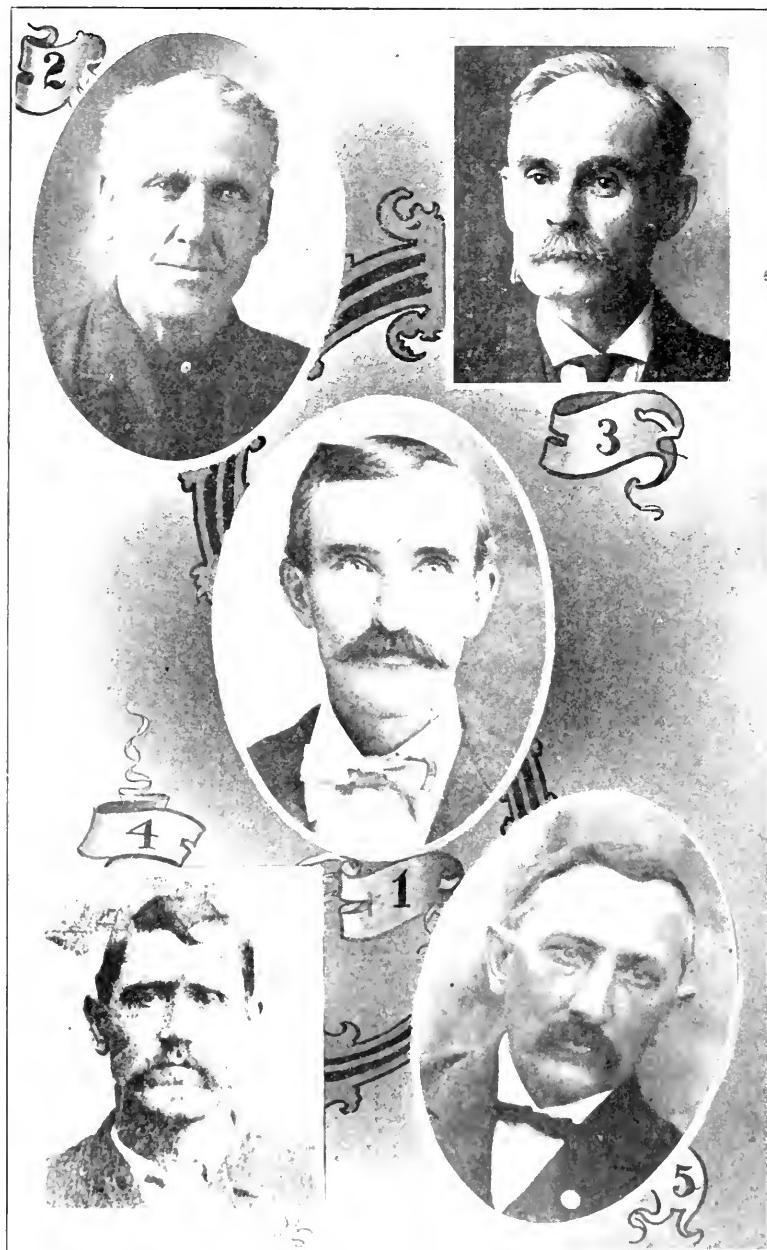
McCOLLISTER, B. C., Rattan, La.—Was a charter member of his local, and has done good work; has made many speeches in the interest of the Union, and has traveled thousands of miles horseback in the work. Was a member of the Parish Executive Committee two years, and served two years as Vice-President of his local, and has served it as Lecturer.

McCOLLISTER, J. J., Olla, La.—Joined the Union 1904; has served as President of his Parish Union; was Business Manager of the warehouse; has been a hard worker in the Union cause ever since he joined the organization.

PETERS, W. S., Tannehill, La.—Has been an active member of the organization since its earliest days, and has especially been active in his parish, attending all meetings of his local and parish. He knew what was going on locally, and to his credit is due in large measure the success of his local parish. Brother Peters is another of the few men who have succeeded as farmers by raising a living at home and letting his cotton be surplus. He has never held a State position, and has never sought any position whatever. He was one of the Board of Directors of the State Central Warehouse at the time the concern was dissolved.

SMART, M. W., Leesville, La.—Has devoted a good part of his life working in the interest of the farmer. He was a member of the Grange and Alliance, and joined the Union soon after it was started in his parish; has been President of his local three years, and President of the Parish Union two years. He is now Lecturer and Organizer for his parish; has served two years as President of the Board of Directors of the parish warehouse; attended as a delegate the meetings held in Memphis and New Orleans, and a delegate to the State meeting at Baton Rouge. He has been a faithful attendant upon all Union meetings.

SEEVER, JOHN M., Fisher, La.—Has been President of the District Union two years; Vice-President of his Parish Union one year, and president of the board of directors of the warehouse at Many since its organization; was delegate to Topeka, Kan.; delegate to the State Union, 1907, and delegate to New Orleans, 1908; has done all that he could to aid the Union.



STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, MISSOURI DIVISION.

1. J. F. BAKER. 2. C. M. GOOCH. 3. M. B. PETERS.
4. W. B. YOUNT. 5. R. M. RUBOTTOM.

VIERS, JOHN W., Grangeville, La.—Has served as President of his local Union, and as President of his Parish Union. As Parish President, he was by virtue of his office Organizer within the parish.

WHATLEY, MISS LOUISE, Eden, La.—Miss Whatley joined the Union in 1906; was elected Secretary-Treasurer soon after joining; has made eight public addresses in behalf of the Union; won one of the trips to Fort Worth Convention offered by the *Union Banner*, in 1908. At Fort Worth she made a splendid address. She has been a good, strong worker for the Union.

WALLER, MISS JULIA, Forest, La.—She is a faithful worker for the Union, having written several letters for the press upon the good of the order, thus encouraging others to join. In 1908, she won a trip to the National Convention at Fort Worth.

WILLIAMS, S. T., Grand Cane, La.—First State Organizer.

ALFORD, G. H., Magnolia, Miss.—Has made fifty or more speeches and has traveled hundreds of miles. Most of the work he has done has been writing for the press. He represented his State before the Agricultural Committee of Congress, 1909. He is a worker. Member of Mississippi Legislature.

BASS, J. M., Vice-President State Union, Hazlehurst, Miss.—An active and aggressive defender of the Union principles, and of the warehouse system in his State; was born in Lawrence County September 16, 1862. He attended school for only a short while; is a member of the Baptist Church; was a member of the Alliance; joined the Farmers' Union at the first opportunity. He is a prominent leader in his State, and is identified with several secret orders. When the State Union was organized, J. M. Bass was elected President, and served two terms. He has been an active supporter of the Union in his State, and is still in the harness, working away with a will. At the last State Convention, January, 1909, he was elected to the place of Vice-President, in which capacity he will devote his time and energies to the Union movement in Mississippi, as he had done ever since the Union was introduced into his State. He is faithful, painstaking, and conservative. His work has been done in a satisfactory manner, for which he deserves all the credit due him. Under his administration, the warehouse idea took definite shape in Mississippi, and many warehouses were built while he was State President. He has done much for the Union in his State; has been delegate to National Conventions. He is a prosperous farmer.

BRADSHAW, H. W., elected State Lecturer of Mississippi two or three years ago, Pelahatchie, Miss.—Has organized about 75 locals; made 500 speeches; traveled about 36,000 miles. He is a man of steadfast faith and undaunted courage; has filled many positions of trust and confidence; has been a delegate to nearly all, if not all, his State conventions, and has been delegate to National Conventions. Bradshaw is a strong believer in education, and if he could have his way, the farmers of this country would be educated business people. He thinks a brighter day is dawning for the American farmer. He believes he will get more out of this life than John D. Rockefeller will.

BROWN, M. A., Yazoo City, Miss.—Was formerly a member of the State Executive Committee, and a director of the Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company of his State. He began his work for the Union in 1904, since which time he has organized about 150 Unions. He has been delegate to both State and National Conventions. While a member of the Executive Committee, he served as State Lecturer, and was one of the members of the Legislative Committee; has been President of the Advocate Publishing Company.

BLAKESLEE, H. E., Jackson, Miss.—Commissioner of Agriculture for the State of Mississippi; for awhile editor and manager *Union Advocate*; has never held any office in the Union, but has done much to build up the Union.

BOATWRIGHT, J. W., Waits, Miss.—Delegate to his State meeting, 1908, and delegate to National Convention, 1908; has done lecturing and organizing; traveled thousands of miles and delivered lectures in different parts of his State and initiated hundreds into the order; is one of the District Lecturers.

COGGINS, J. L., Blue Springs, Miss.—Joined the Union at Limestone Local, in November, 1905; was elected delegate to county meeting at Tupelo; was commissioned Organizer by G. W. Fant, of Texas; has organized in nine counties, having organized 65 locals; made about 200 speeches and traveled 2,000 miles; has faced many hardships.

CHEATHAM, H. J., Philadelphia, Miss.—Was born in Louisiana in 1852. Has always taken an active interest in helping to better the condition of the farmer. During the reign of the Alliance was Parish Secretary, and twice delegate to Louisiana State Alliance, and a delegate to the Anti-Lottery Convention held at Baton

Rouge; joined the Union at its organization in his county, and has done all in his power to advance the cause.

COLLINS, J. L., Jackson, Miss.—State Business Agent of the Farmers' Union of Mississippi; was born November, 1839, in the County of Pontotoc, State of Mississippi; raised on a farm; received such an education as the antebellum log cabin school houses afforded. At his maturity, in 1861, he volunteered in the first company that was raised at Coffeeville. His company was one of the ten that was organized into the Fifteenth Mississippi Infantry. This regiment distinguished itself at the battle of Fishing Creek, Ky., where Gen. Zollicoffer was sacrificed; next at the battle of Shiloh; here Capt. Collins was assigned to duty in the adjutant general's office, John C. Breckenridge, and on account of efficient and gallant service was promoted to the position of A. D. C. Capt. Collins surrendered at Augusta, Ga., returned home, and set about upon his father's old plantation in Calhoun County, Mississippi, to recuperate the lost fortune incident to war. Since the war he has made himself eminently useful in many departments of life, but has never relinquished his farming interests, and at present this is his main vocation. In 1881, Capt. Collins was called upon to take up the Democratic banner, which for several years had been trailing in the dust under the scalawag regime. He made a vigorous canvass and on account of his personal popularity and conservatism, was elected to represent two counties in the legislature of 1882. Following this, he was appointed to fill the office of special land agent in the United States Interior Department, and was assigned to duty in California. In this position, he was highly complimented for his efficient service by Gen. Sparks, who was land commissioner at that time. Closing his term of office, he returned home, and has been steadily engaged in farming. Although in the rear leaf of life now, yet he is quick and active as many much younger men. There is one characteristic about him well known that whatever he attempts to do is well and faithfully done. He has filled in the Union several positions of honor and has proven his loyalty to the cause.

CURR, C. H., Holly Springs, Miss.—Editor and member of Legislature; delegate to State Convention; served on important committee; has done a great deal of good through his paper for the Union.

CARTER, J. W., Bentley, Miss.—Member of the State Executive Committee; largely instrumental in the erection of warehouse at Calhoun City.

DUTTON, JAMES, Dewey, Miss.—Has been in the field as Organizer and Lecturer for five years, and during that time has organized 300 local Unions and made more than 1,000 speeches. His organizing work has been carried on in three States; has been faithful, and is still in the fight.

EDENS, B. N., Aberdeen, Miss.—Was elected District Lecturer, 1908, and traveled through his district, where he organized some local Unions and revived several defunct ones.

HIGHTOWER, GEORGE ROBERT, President Mississippi Division, Oxford, Miss.—Was born at Smith's Mill, Grenada County, Miss., October 15, 1865. His ancestors were Virginians. William Hightower and Jesse Dawson were revolutionary soldiers in the Continental Army of Virginia. George Hightower, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a Confederate soldier. Young Hightower attended the public schools of Grenada County, and later the Buena Vista Normal College, in Chickasaw County, from which he graduated in 1889. He established the Abbeville Normal College in the fall after he graduated, and in 1890 was professor of mathematics in the Grenada Collegiate Institute. He gave up teaching because of failing health, and took up the occupation of farming and stock raising. In 1895 he was elected Superintendent of Education of Lafayette County, and in 1899 he was elected representative from his county. November, 1903, he was elected State Senator from the Thirty-second District, and was re-elected in 1907. He was elected President of the Farmers' Union of the State of Mississippi at the January meeting in 1908, and resigned as State Senator to accept the place; he was re-elected State President January, 1909. As President he is most energetic in devising business plans. Mississippi is building new warehouses and otherwise making progress under his administration. He was a delegate to the last National Convention: is a prominent secret order man, belonging to the Masons, Knights of Pythias, and the Woodmen of the World. It is said that he made one of the best County Superintendents of Public Instruction in the State of Mississippi. He began in the fall of 1908 to lay plans for the consolidation of all the Mississippi warehouses under one charter. The company thus organized to be known as the Farmers' Warehouse Company of Mississippi. The organization has now been perfected, and agents are in the field placing the stock.

HAYNIE, CAPT. TOM S., Jackson, Miss.—Was born in Tuscaloosa, Ala., August, 1835, and is in his seventy-fourth year. He served during the Civil War in Company H, Fifth Texas Regu-

lars (Hood's Brigade). He joined the Farmers' Union three years since, and has been fighting in its ranks ever since. He says he expects to give the remainder of his life to the service of the Farmers' Union.

HARVEY, J. M., Meridian, Miss.—Member State Executive Committee; joined the Union in April, 1907; in June was sent as a delegate to the County Union, at which time the warehouse question came up, and he was appointed a member of the committee to investigate, and made its chairman. The warehouse company was organized, stock subscribed, and the building put up. Has done excellent work for the Union, and stands ready at all times to work for its interests.

HERINGTON, ORANGE, Ellisville, Miss.—Joined the Union upon its advent into Mississippi; has supported its principles as editor of one or two papers; was elected Secretary-Treasurer of his County Union, 1906, and has been re-elected at every meeting held since. He is a member of the State Executive Committee, and a worker.

HEARN, D. R., Canton, Miss.—County President of Madison County; has done as much as any man in his section to build up the Union.

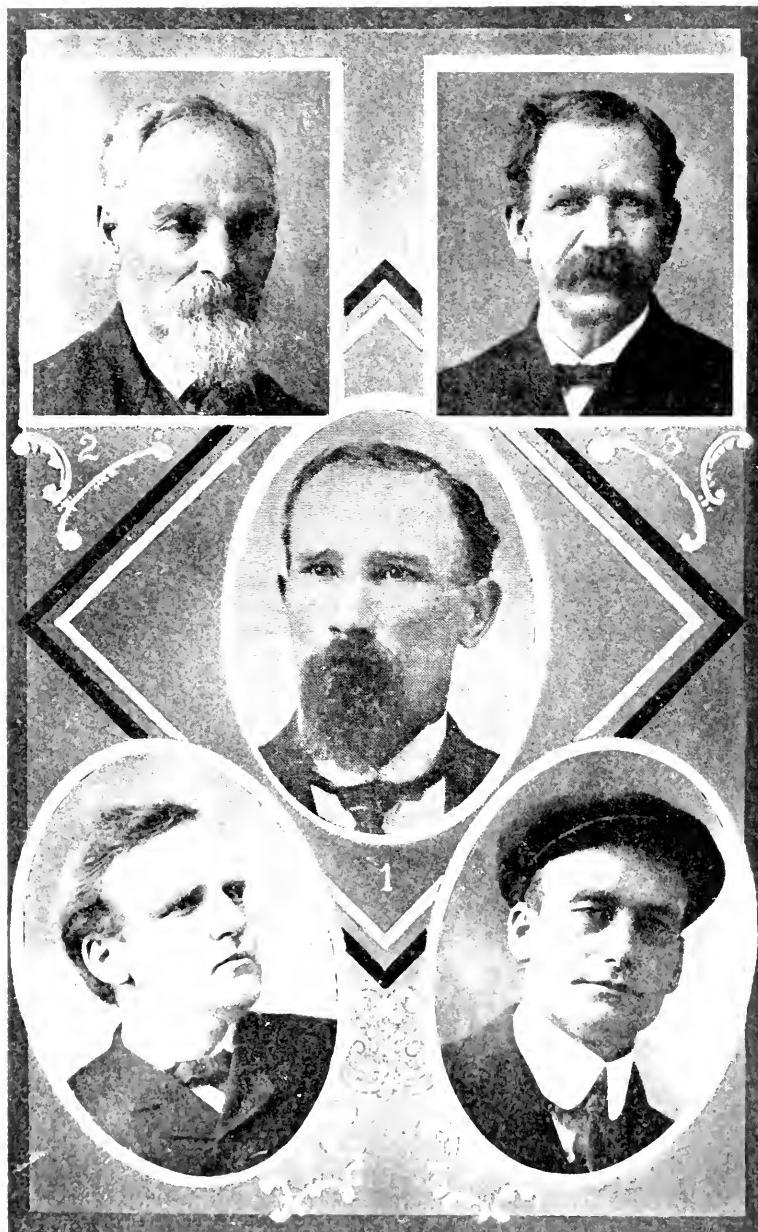
JOHNSON, T. J., Baldwyn, Miss.—Ex-State Executive Committeeman; has traveled and worked for the Union as Lecturer; has served as President of his local; was delegate to last National Convention, where he served on important committees.

JONES, J. L., McComb City, Miss.—Member of the State Executive Committee. A splendid business man and a faithful worker.

KOLB, W. H., Aberdeen, Miss.—Was born in 1862, Monroe County, Mississippi; has been a member of the Union for more than two years, and has been an ardent worker for the cause; has attended all county meetings as a delegate since joining; served as President of his county, and is Chairman of the State Executive Committee.

KYLE, T. F., Pontotoc, Miss.—Ex-Vice-President of State Union; served two terms; President of Pontotoc for four years; a good lecturer and a loyal member.

LINDSAY, J. L., Greenville, Miss.—Upon his return from school he joined the Union and was immediately elected a District Leet-



STATE OFFICIALS, WASHINGTON DIVISION.

1. E. C. Crow, Washington, President State Union.
2. P. W. Cox, Washington, Member State Executive Committee.
3. J. M. Reit, Washington, Member State Executive Committee.
4. Melvin Stitt, Washington, Vice President.
5. R. J. Day, Idaho, Member State Executive Committee.

turer for a part of Mississippi. The Lecturers' Bureau was discontinued August, 1908, but he was so enthusiastic that he continued the work.

LINKER, F. L., Oxford, Miss.—The most of his work has been done in raising stock for Union warehouses, and in this connection has traveled about 1,000 miles. He has been successful in pushing the warehouse movement.

MYERS, A. W., Brookhaven, Miss.—Has been in the field for five years and eight months, and has made a success of his work. A good part of his time has been spent in lecturing; has organized in Arkansas and in Mississippi; has organized 261 local and County Unions, and traveled about 30,000 miles.

MOTT, N. A., Yazoo City, Miss.—He has done work for the Union, but it has been principally along insurance lines. He is Secretary-Treasurer of the Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Mississippi. He is Secretary of his County Union.

NETTERVILLE, C., Woodville, Miss.—Has been a member of the Grange and a strong supporter of farmers' organizations. He joined the Union upon its introduction into his State, and was made President of his County Union when it was organized, which position he still holds. His work has been done principally through articles which he has written to the *National Co-Operator* and the *Advocate*.

PATE, E. L., Calhoun City, Miss.—Manager of Union warehouse at Calhoun City, Miss.; has done work in the Union as Organizer, and has made a number of speeches.

PALMER, THOMAS RUFUS, Greenwood Springs, Miss.—Ex-Vice-President of the Mississippi Division of the Farmers' Union; was born July, 1878, and joined the Union in August, 1905, at Pleasant Ridge, in his State, and was elected President of same and served two years. He was the first one to give his name to the Organizer, W. A. Morris, at the time. He was active as an Organizer till elected Vice-President of Mississippi, 1908. He has served two terms as a member of the State Executive Committee.

QUINN, W. T., Mississippi.—Lecturer; is editor of the *Neshoba County Democrat*. A forcible speaker and valuable member of the Union.

QUICK, J. A., Hattiesburg, Miss.—County President; good lecturer.

RUSSELL, G. W., Hazlehurst, Miss.—Secretary-Treasurer Mississippi State Union; was born in Lawrence County, Mississippi, October 14, 1879, but moved to Copiah County when a youth, where he grew up on a farm, and became a model farmer and good citizen. He was educated in the schools of his county, and when a young man received a collegiate education, and upon the introduction of the Farmers' Union into Copiah County, he joined as a charter member of the local, and was elected Secretary-Treasurer of his local. He was delegate to the first State Union, at which time he was elected State Secretary-Treasurer, and has succeeded himself at every meeting since. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Farmers' Union Cotton Company of Memphis. He has held many positions of honor and trust, and has proved himself ready and willing to do anything in his power to advance the farming interest. Russell launched the *Mississippi Union Advocate* in 1906; has been delegate to National Conventions. An energetic, progressive young man.

RUSSELL, MRS. GEORGE W., Hazlehurst, Miss.—Delegate to the last National Convention, and wife of the present Secretary-Treasurer of Mississippi.

SHOEMAKE, S. A., Collins, Miss.—Ex-Member of State Executive Committee. Was a member of board for one term, and secretary of board.

WILSON, REV. ROBERT ANDREW NEAL, Batesville, Miss.—Was born in Hardin County, Tennessee, August 26, 1865; raised on a farm in McNairy County Tennessee; educated in the common school of McNairy County, Bethel College, McKenzie, Tenn., and Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn.; entered the ministry of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1888; served the church as pastor in Batesville, Miss., two years; Milan, Tenn., nearly three years; Hubbard City, Texas, two years; Pueblo, Col., eight years, and three years ago came back to Batesville; was married to Miss Jessie Lester, January 5, 1892. While in Colorado, took deep interest in prohibition politics; in 1902 made the race for Governor. Since coming back to Mississippi, in addition to regular pastoral work, he has been interested in the Farmers' Union movement; has been County Lecturer for Panola County; District Lecturer for State, and made a tour of the State last year with President Hightower; was a delegate to the National Convention in Fort Worth in 1908, and served on the Constitutional Committee; was sent by his county as delegate to the conference in

New Orleans, and was one of the speakers at the open meeting on the conference. He is now State Chaplain for Mississippi. Wilson is an able man and an orator; recently elected to next National Convention. Wilson has done a great deal of good work.

WILSON, S. L., Van Vleet, Miss.—Member of the National Board of Directors; was born in South Carolina and removed with his parents to the State of Mississippi in 1846. His parents procured a farm upon which he still lives. During the war he was a member of the army of Northern Virginia, and saw four years of service. S. L. Wilson was a member of the Alliance, and is now master of the State Grange of Mississippi. He is a Mason, an Odd Fellow, and a Knight of Pythias. When the Farmers' Union was organized in his State, feeling an interest in the movement, he joined, and soon became prominently identified with the movement. He was elected a member of the National Board of Directors at the Little Rock Convention in 1907, and again elected at the Fort Worth meeting in 1908. Ex-Member of Legislature. He is faithful to every trust.

WARD, B. F., JR., Winona, Miss.—Ex-editor of paper at his home town, and recently elected by the State Executive Committee editor and manager of the official organ of the State of Mississippi. A good lecturer and loyal member of the Farmers' Union. Ex-Sergeant-at-Arms of the Mississippi House of Representatives. The Farmers' Union of Mississippi, through its Executive Committee, has just completed arrangements for publishing an official organ for State organization. The dues were raised for the purpose of sending this paper free to all members of the order in the State, and hereafter the paper will be furnished free to every member of the Union.

WOOD, WALKER, Senatobia, Miss.—Editor of local newspaper, and has done much good for the Union through its columns; delegate to the last State Convention.

WILSON, MISS, Van Vleet, Miss.—Daughter of S. L. Wilson. She attended the last State Convention of the Mississippi State Union, and was elected delegate to the National Convention.

WAX, WILLIAM T., Amory, Miss.—Joined the Farmers' Union in the summer of 1906 as a charter member of his local; assisted in organizing a warehouse in his county, and was elected President of the Board of Directors at the time. As president of this board, he has done splendid work.

MISSOURI.

BAKER, F. J., Rich Hill, Mo.—Member of State Executive Committee.

BOWERS, J. M., Missouri.—Delegate to last National Convention, and member of important committee, where he did good work.

DOUGLAS, T. J., Missouri.—Delegate to last National Convention, and served on important committee, and did faithful work.

FULKERSON, J. E., State Business Agent, Lebanon, Mo.—Was born on a farm in Grundy County, Missouri. He attended the common schools of his section. At 26, took a business course, and became bookkeeper at Trenton. He later became assistant cashier and bookkeeper for the First National Bank of that place; has been a traveling salesman; engaged in the shoe business; in the real estate business, and manager of a water and light plant. He returned to the farm; joined the Farmers' Union and was elected County Business Agent, October, 1907; was elected State Business Agent, August 13, 1908. He is a hard worker.

FISHER, W. W., Missouri.—Ex-State Organizer; has attended several State and National Conventions, and has served on important committees.

GOOCII, C. M., LaPlata, Mo.—Is 62 years of age; was a member of the Grange and the Farmers' Alliance; joined the Farmers' Union, and was elected President of his county local, and still holds that office. Was a delegate to the State Convention when the Missouri Union was formed, and was elected a member of the Executive Committee. In 1908 was re-elected to the committee, being made its chairman. Is organizer for the northern part of the State, and gives practically all of his time to the work.

LUTHY, L. F., Secretary-Treasurer, Lebanon, Mo.—Was born of Virginia parentage in St. Louis, Mo., January 29, 1848, and from his sixth to his fourteenth year he attended the public schools of that city. He attended the city university for two years, then the University of Missouri for one year. He taught school for a short time, and on his twenty-first birthday entered into a partnership with his father in the lumber business. At the age of 29 he purchased a farm and moved to the country. He has been a member of the State Board of Agriculture and was in charge of the Missouri Agricultural exhibit at Omaha, Neb., 1898; joined the Farmers' Union at the first opportunity, and was elected State

Secretary-Treasurer in 1907, and re-elected in 1908. Luthy has a pleasant home, and has raised a large family. Some of his boys are in the West, and have builded good reputations.

MORGAN, W. S., Springfield, Mo.—Author of "History of the Wheel and Alliance, and the Impending Revolution;" was a prominent member of the Wheel and Alliance, and is now working for the Farmers' Union.

MURCHELL, A. P., Steel, Mo.—Organizer and County Secretary; is a faithful worker in his county, and was a delegate to the January meeting at Memphis, 1908.

MILLER, JOHN A., East Prairie, Mo.—Ex-State Executive Committeeman, and Vice-President of State Union. Said to be a fine farmer and a good man.

PETERS, M. B., West Plains, Mo.—Became a member of the Union in December, 1907, and was at once elected Secretary of the County Union; was a delegate to the State Convention in Springfield in 1908, and was made Chairman of the Resolutions Committee and was elected a member of the State Executive Committee. Was selected by the Advisory Board as Special State Lecturer; spends much of his time at this work, and is devoted to the Union.

QUILLETT, W. H., Lebanon, Mo.—Was born in Indiana, May 25, 1857; removed to Kansas 1875; became a member of the Farmers' Union June, 1906; has been in the organization work ever since; has traveled over 2,000 miles the past season, mostly with his own rig. Quillen was prominent in Union affairs in Kansas.

RUBORTOM, R. M., Patterson, Mo.—Is a member of the State Executive Committee, and is trying to push the work in his State. He joined as a charter member; has served as President of his local, and as County Business Agent; has been a delegate to the State meeting. Is a practical and successful farmer.

RAY, H. M., Neosho, Mo.—Ex-State Organizer and ex-Door-keeper of the National Union. Ray did a great deal of organizing in the early days of the organization in Missouri. He organized the first local in the State.

SUMMITT, N. H., President State Union, Cardwell, Mo.—Was born January 26, 1868, in Lawrence County, Indiana. His parents moved from Indiana to Tennessee in 1877, where young Summitt resided until 1895, when he moved to Dunklin County, Missouri.

In 1905 he joined the first local Union organized in Southeast Missouri, and was elected President of this local Union in February, 1906. When the Dunklin County Union was organized, he was chosen President of that body. He was elected President of the Missouri State Union at Springfield, in 1908. His educational advantages were limited but he has made the best of his opportunities. N. H. Summitt is a successful farmer, producing on his farm everything that he needs. His success as a farmer and his love of Union principles has made him a factor in the Union movement in his State. He is faithfully administrating the affairs of the State President's office.

SHAW, J. W., Pontiac, Mo.—Was born in Tennessee, September 29, 1873, and moved with his parents to Missouri in 1887. He received his education in the public schools of the State. Upon the advent of the Union into Missouri, he became identified with the organization. He was elected delegate to the State Union, where he was elected State Organizer and Lecturer, in which capacity he is now serving.

STUBBS, DAVID, Florissant, Mo.—Worked in several counties in Illinois and Missouri; was delegate to Missouri State Convention, 1908.

WEIR, J. G., Poplar Bluff, Mo.—Ex-President of Missouri State Union.

YOUNT, WILLIAM B., Marble Hill, Mo.—Born in Ballinger County, Missouri, November 20, 1859, and was raised on a farm. When twenty years of age began teaching in the public schools, and followed teaching and farming for seventeen years. Was a member of the Farmers' Alliance and Agricultural Wheel, in both of which he held office. Was elected Collector of Revenue of his county in 1896, and was re-elected in 1898. Is a successful farmer, and loyal member of the Union. He is a member of the State Executive Committee.

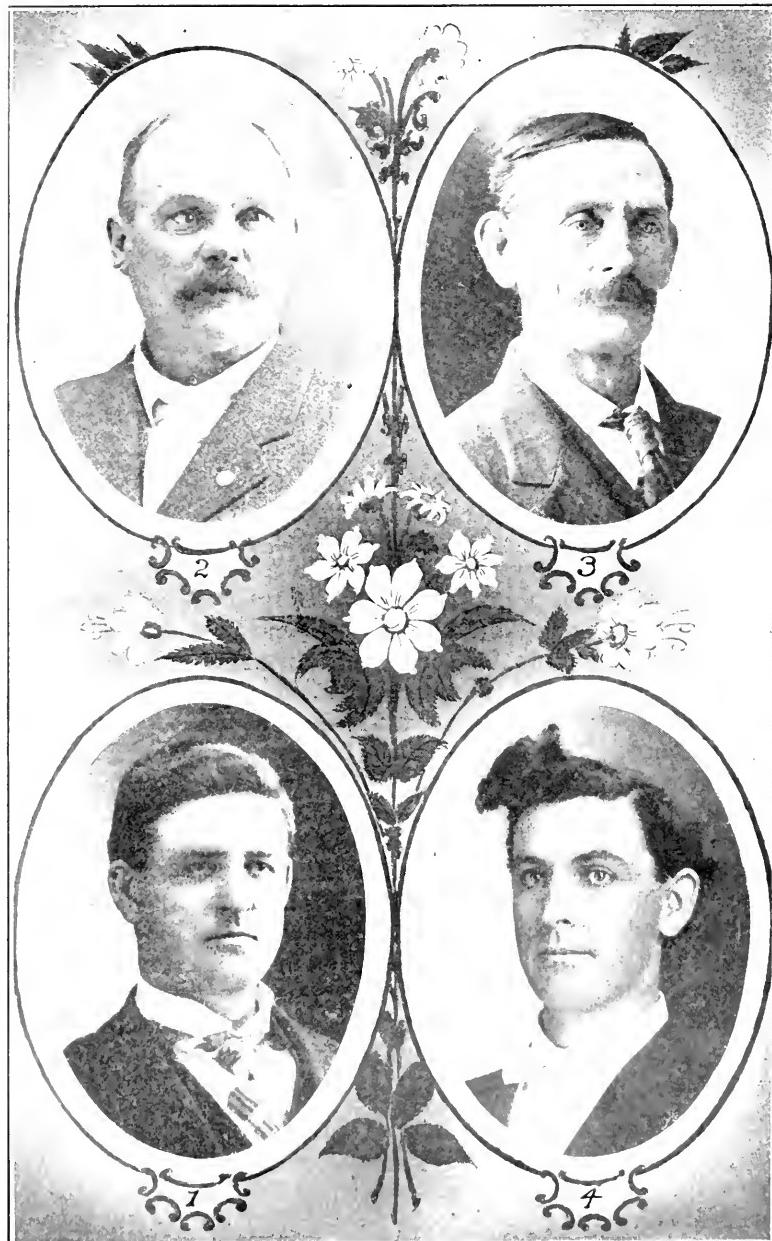
CHAPTER XXIX.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, NORTH CAROLINA, NEBRASKA, NEW MEXICO, OKLAHOMA.

NORTH CAROLINA.

ALEXANDER, Dr. H. Q., President of the North Carolina Division of the Farmers' Union, Matthews, N. C.—Was born in Iredell County, North Carolina, August 23, 1863, where he received an academic education; taught from 1882-1886; entered the medical department of the University of Maryland, graduating in 1888; won the Appleton prize for the best examination before the North Carolina Medical Board 1888; located in the Providence section of Mecklenburg County, 1888, and bought a farm 1890; Ex-President of the Mecklenburg County Medical Society and examiner for several life insurance companies; ex-member of the North Carolina Legislature (1903); member and ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church; married, 1888, to Miss Annie Campbell, of York County, North Carolina. Dr. H. K. Alexander is descended from the old Alexander family of Mecklenburg County. This family has been prominent in church and State for more than a century. The father of H. Q. Alexander was a prominent citizen of Iredell County. Dr. Alexander was an active member of the Farmers' Alliance for several years; joined the Farmers' Union upon its advent into his State, and was elected State President at the Convention held in Charlotte, 1908. Dr. Alexander is a self-made man and his every sympathy is with the masses. He was re-elected State President at Monroe, December, 1908. During his administration North Carolina has made rapid progress.

ARMSTRONG, J. G., Raleigh, N. C.—Did his first work in Arkansas; was County Lecturer of White County, Arkansas, and member of the Executive Committee; was District Chaplain. He went to Mississippi as Organizer, 1906, and spent eight months organizing there. He went to North Carolina in 1907, and began working in that State. He has traveled many thousand miles and



STATE OFFICIALS AND PROMINENT WORKERS, WASHINGTON DIVISION.

1. A. D. CROSS, State Secretary-Treasurer.
2. N. R. ATKINSON, Ex-State President.
3. H. D. G. COX, Organizer and Lecturer.
4. A. A. ELMORE, State Organizer.

has organized nearly 200 local Unions all told. He is one of the faithful ones.

BIVENS, S. R., Monroe, N. C.—Has traveled about 2,000 miles and organized more than 50 local Unions. He is a persistent worker and has done much to help the Union cause in his State.

COGGINS, J. P., Bear Creek, N. C.—Joined the Union upon its advent into North Carolina; has long been a successful farmer and a friend and patron of the farmers' organizations in his State. He was an active member of the Farmers' Alliance and was elected President of the Alliance Manufacturing Company, which position he still holds. January, 1908, the Union Supply Company, of Bear Creek, was chartered with a capital stock of \$30,000 and he was elected secretary of this; was a delegate to the late convention held at Monroe, at which time he was elected a member of the State Executive Committee.

CROWDER, WILLIAM G., Carey, N. C.—Is a native of Wake County, North Carolina; was educated in the public, academic and high schools of the community; has been engaged in farming and teaching, now owning and living on the farm where he was born. He has been a member of every farmers' organization that has existed in his State. He was also connected with the Secretary's office of the State Alliance; has held positions of trust in his community. At the organization of Wake County Union, he was chosen delegate to the State Union at Monroe, where he was elected a member of the State Executive Committee, 1907.

CARTER, S. L., Kings Mountain, N. C.—Was the first delegate ever sent from North Carolina to a National Union meeting. He attended at Little Rock, Arkansas; was on the committee that set the price for cotton at 15 cents and through his efforts secured the service of G. W. Fant, of Texas, and J. G. Armstrong, of Arkansas, for North Carolina Union. The beginning of their work really marked the beginning of unionism in North Carolina. He is President of the Cleveland County Union, and has been for a number of years; is loved and esteemed by his people.

CORNWELL, Thomas F., Lincolnton, N. C.—Was born August, 1869. Through his own push and energy, he obtained an education at Rutherford College, North Carolina. He is one of Lincoln's most progressive farmers and one of her most respected citizens. He is well known throughout the country as an upright.

valuable citizen. He has been honored by his country with positions of honor and trust.

CANSLER, J. E., Lincolnton, N. C.—Enlisted as a charter member of his local in 1908; was elected doorkeeper; always makes it a rule to speak a good word for the Union when and where he can.

CROSBY, W. C., Charlotte, N. C.—Was elected Secretary-Treasurer of Mecklenburg County when organized, and has done good service for his Union; was great help in organizing and building a warehouse at Charlotte, which is a credit to the North Carolina Union.

COMBS, J. E., Lincolnton, N. C.—Joined the Union as a charter member of his local, April, 1908. He was elected Doorkeeper of the State Union. He has done his duty well.

DAVIS, A. C., Monroe, N. C.—Is Chaplain of the North Carolina State Union and stands well in his community and with the Union.

FAIRES, E. C., Secretary-Treasurer North Carolina Farmers' Union, Kings Mountain, N. C.—Was born on a farm in Gaston County, North Carolina, August 6, 1866. At twenty-one he went into the mercantile business at Gaston. April 1, 1908, he was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the North Carolina Division of the Farmers' Union. Faires had the misfortune to lose his left hand while a lad of twelve years. By reason of this accident, he was given advantages in school that was not given to his brothers. Shortly after marrying Miss Dora J. Falls, he moved to Kings Mountain, Cleveland County, and settled on a farm, where he has ever since resided. As Secretary-Treasurer of North Carolina, he has devoted every energy and given every talent of which he is possessed to the building up of the Union, and in maintaining business-like methods in his office. He was re-elected State Secretary-Treasurer at Monroe in December, 1908.

FORD, J. E. C., Lowell, N. C.—Was the first elected State Organizer; is an ardent Union man.

GREEN, J. Z., State Organizer of North Carolina, Marshville, N. C.—Among the prominent leaders and newspaper men of the Farmers' Union in North Carolina, stands the name of J. Z. Green. He was born on a farm, upon which he is still living, near the town of Marshville. He had no college education, but

received a good English education in the common schools of the country. In 1892, he began the publication of a newspaper, and has continued as a farmer and newspaper man ever since. In 1908, he began the publication of the Union Farmer, one of the leading Union papers. He was a leader in the Alliance and edited "Our Home," an Alliance paper. Many business men predicted the downfall of the paper, for, as they said, it was like putting down a saw-mill where there was no timber. The paper, however, succeeded, because Green had the ability and courage to make it a success. He declined the nomination for the State Senate, as also the nomination for Congress, from the Sixth District, when a nomination meant election. He joined the Union at the first opportunity and has been ably at work in its behalf ever since. At the State Convention in Monroe, December, 1908, he was elected State Organizer for his State. I wish we had more men like Green.

GIBSON, W. B., Iredell County, N. C.—Is President of Iredell County Union, and has done good work as an organizer in his county, and also in Alexander County; is a man of fine judgment and it is well the Union of North Carolina has such a man within its ranks.

HUNTER, RICHARD B., Charlotte, N. C.—A "tar-heel" native and "to the manor born," served sixteen months in the Confederate army as member of Company C, 10th North Carolina Regiment; surrendered with Lee at Appomattox, and reached home on his sixteenth birthday; took high school and college course at Erskine College, South Carolina; elected State Lecturer of Farmers' Alliance and served as State and Assistant National Lecturer for two and one-half years; was Superintendent of Education in Mecklenburg County; elected Lecturer of North Carolina division of Farmers' Union in April, 1908; traveled about 5,000 miles; made 143 public addresses and 46 speeches to Union in executive session.

LOGAN, B. G., Kings Mountain, N. C.—Is Organizer for Cleveland County; was with W. A. Morris and G. W. Fant a part of the time; met with many hardships and sometimes had to walk three miles after speaking to find a place to sleep, but he was in it to win, and win he did.

LOGAN, JOHN J., King's Mountain, N. C.—Joined as a charter member of his local. He was placed in the field as an organizer by W. A. Morris and did his work well.



STATE OFFICIALS, NORTH CAROLINA DIVISION.

1. E. C. FAIRES, State Secretary-Treasurer.

2. H. Q. ALEXANDER, State President.

3. A. C. SHUFORD, Vice President. 4. J. Z. GREEN, State Organizer.

MORROW, ORSON, Rutherfordton, N. C.—Has belonged to all the farmers' organizations in his State; was a member of the Alliance; was elected Lecturer of his County Union; delegate to the first State meeting at Charlotte, where he was elected a member of the State Executive Committee, of which he is now chairman.

PHILLIPS, U. S. G., Unika, N. C.—Joined the Union February, 1908, and was elected Secretary-Treasurer of his local at the time; was elected a delegate to the first State meeting held in Charlotte, also a delegate to the Lincolnton meeting and the Monroe convention; organized Cherokee and Lincolnton Counties, and Monroe and Polk Counties, Tennessee. He is Sergeant-at-Arms of the State Union.

PHARR, W. S., Charlotte, N. C.—Joined the Union about January, 1908; has been delegate to all the State meetings; helped to organize and build his warehouse; is a hard worker for the Union.

PLYLER, P. P. W., Monroe, N. C.—A member of the State Executive Committee, and has good business qualities, a thing needed in every member of the Executive Committee, and earnestly devoted to the work.

RANDOLPH, D. A., Bryson City, N. C.—Is one of the State Executive Committeemen and has done great service for the Union in the mountain counties, which now bid fair to rival some of our eastern counties, and his service has done much to bring this about.

ROTHROCK, E. A., Stokes County, N. C.—Is Secretary-Treasurer of his County Union, and has done good service for the Union by writing some good articles for his local newspaper, and always being alive to the interests of his County Union.

SHUFORD, A. C., Vice-President North Carolina Farmers' Union, Newton, N. C.—Was born in Cataba County, North Carolina, March 1, 1858; was educated in the common schools of the county and Cataba College; is a farmer by occupation; joined the Alliance in 1889, and soon became one of the prominent leaders of that movement; was made County, and later District Lecturer; was elected delegate to the labor conference at St. Louis in February, 1892; was elected Vice-President of the State Alliance in 1894; served for some time as Congressman from his

district; joined the Farmers' Union upon its advent into North Carolina, and at the organization of the State Union in March, 1908, was elected Vice-President, where he brought to bear all the trained powers at his command; was re-elected Vice-President at the meeting in Monroe, December, 1908.

SWANSON, W. T., Pembroke, N. C.—Is one of the leading organizers in the Old North State, where he went from Georgia in 1906, to take up the work. He had previously organized in several counties in Georgia, and when he entered North Carolina, he made a fine record. He made fifty speeches and organized forty-eight locals from this effort. He organized more than 100 locals all told, and bears the reputation of being one of those who helped to line up North Carolina.

SCOTT, REESE W., Monroe, N. C.—Has organized seventy-five local Unions, and made about 175 speeches. He, too, met with many hardships, but persevered till his section of the State was in good working order.

STROUP, D. A., Bessimer City, N. C.—Has been Secretary of the Gaston County Union since organization; has aided in organizing and building a good warehouse.

KERSHAW, JAMES E., Salem, Neb.—Has done organizing and lecturing work in Missouri and Illinois. In these two States he organized fifty local Unions, with a total membership of 920.

COMPTON, C. M., Texico, N. M.—Was one of the early members of the order. He was elected State Lecturer at the organization of the State Union of Texas, in Mineola, 1904, and served one year before he moved to New Mexico. He is a very forceful speaker and did much good work for the cause as State Lecturer of Texas.

CHILDERS, J. W., Texico, N. M.—Has done a lot of lecturing in Texas and New Mexico; has done some organizing; is still at work in New Mexico, where he is doing all he can.

PATTERSON, GREEN B., Ingleville, N. M.—Was born April 27, 1862, in Wise County, Texas, on a frontier farm. Had all the hardships and knocks of a frontier boy. At the age of 18, he joined the Farmers' Alliance, and during a membership of ten years in that organization filled several offices. Joined the Farmers' Union in Kiowa County, Oklahoma, in 1904, and served as

its Chaplain. Served as County Lecturer, and was elected State Business Agent, serving six months. Also served as State Lecturer and Organizer for Oklahoma. Moved to New Mexico in 1907. He was twice a delegate to National Conventions.

ARMSTRONG, J. K., Ardmore, Okla.—He is one of the really powerful writers on the Union press of the country. A man with a keen brain and the gift of forceful expression. He secured the "Union Review," and through his able advocacy and defense of Union principles in Oklahoma, has made the paper an authoritative voice in the advancement of the organizations' advancement. A man must feel strongly the things he advocates, must be stirred by real sympathy and understanding to make his voice heard and when heard, to bring conviction. These are the qualities that have made the subject of this sketch a potent figure in the counsels of the Union in the great and growing State of Oklahoma. He has real understanding of the toiling masses, and in understanding, has the sympathy and intelligence to give expression to helpful views.

BELDEN, W. F., Maramec, Okla.—Became a charter member of Lone Eliu Local in August, 1905; was elected President of the County Union at the organization of same, in December following, and holds the same position now. August, 1908, was elected Chairman of the State Executive Committee; holds a directorship in three Union enterprises—a cotton gin, cottonseed oil mill and insurance company—has attended all State meetings of the Union, and the National meeting at Memphis, in January, 1908; has done some work as a lecturer; is a good worker and has done much to help make the co-operative plans of the Union a success.

BROWN, M. B., Cordell, Okla.—Is an old Alliance worker, the principles of which become imbedded in his heart and mind, and he has always stood for those principles in the organization or out of it. For a number of years he was commissioner in his county, always acting that upright, honest way, that gave him the confidence of the common people. Brown joined the Union at the first available opportunity, living a consistent member of the organization, always yielding obedience to its constitution, laws and rules of order, hence has been an important factor in the development of the principles of the Union in the State of Oklahoma. Twice elected Vice-President of his County Union, serving two terms upon the Executive Committee of the State Union,

prominent in the State and National meetings, and as Business Agent of the Co-Operative Association of his County, has been faithful to every trust imposed in him as an officer in the organization.

BELL, T. J., Paoli, Okla.—Joined the Union in Alabama. He has been a persistent member of the Union, and by his efforts, aided in its advancement all that he could.

CALLAHAN, J. Y., Enid, Okla.—Was born on a farm in Dent County, Missouri, December 19, 1852. Though connected with a number of business enterprises, J. Y. Callahan has always been a farmer. He received his education at home and by the assistance of his wife. At twelve years of age, he was unable to read or write, but by close application he has become one of the best informed on current problems in the State. He was elected to Congress in 1896, and he and Jerre Simpson, were the only farmers of the fifty-fifth Congress. He has been a member of the Grange and Alliance; joined the Farmers' Union as soon as it came to his State, and has been active ever since. He served for sometime as a member of the State Executive Committee. Callahan is a good talker and writer. He is author of the "Burning Issue."

CRAWFORD, W. J., Shawnee, Okla.—Was born, raised and educated in Indiana, going west in 1866. Taught school and was a cowboy part of the time. Has nearly always resided on a farm. Was identified with the Grange, then the Farmers' Alliance, and Agricultural Wheel, and was for many years a member and lecturer for the Knights of Labor. Became a member of the Farmers' Union in 1904, and was elected Lecturer for Comanche County. Was a delegate to the National meeting in Texarkana in 1906. Helped to organize the Kansas Union. Served there as a lecturer for a time, but returned home to take the field. Was a delegate to the State Convention in 1908, and was then elected State Lecturer. Crawford is a strong believer in co-operation.

CORLEY, J. W. L., Heavener, Okla.—Joined the Union as a charter member, and was elected delegate to the County Union in the same month. At this meeting was elected Lecturer and Organizer for the County Union, which met in March following; gave his entire time to the work, and in a year the membership of the county numbered more than 3,000. In October, 1905, was elected a member of the State Executive Board; was a delegate

to the National meeting at Texarkana, when the National Union was organized; was a delegate to the mass meeting at Memphis, Tenn.; has been a delegate to and attended every State meeting held in Oklahoma but one; has missed but few county meetings in his county since its organization; has spoken to the farmers in almost every county in the eastern half of the State; is a member of the State Board of Agriculture; is President of the Farmers' Institute, LeFlore County, and President Hanover Warehouse Company.

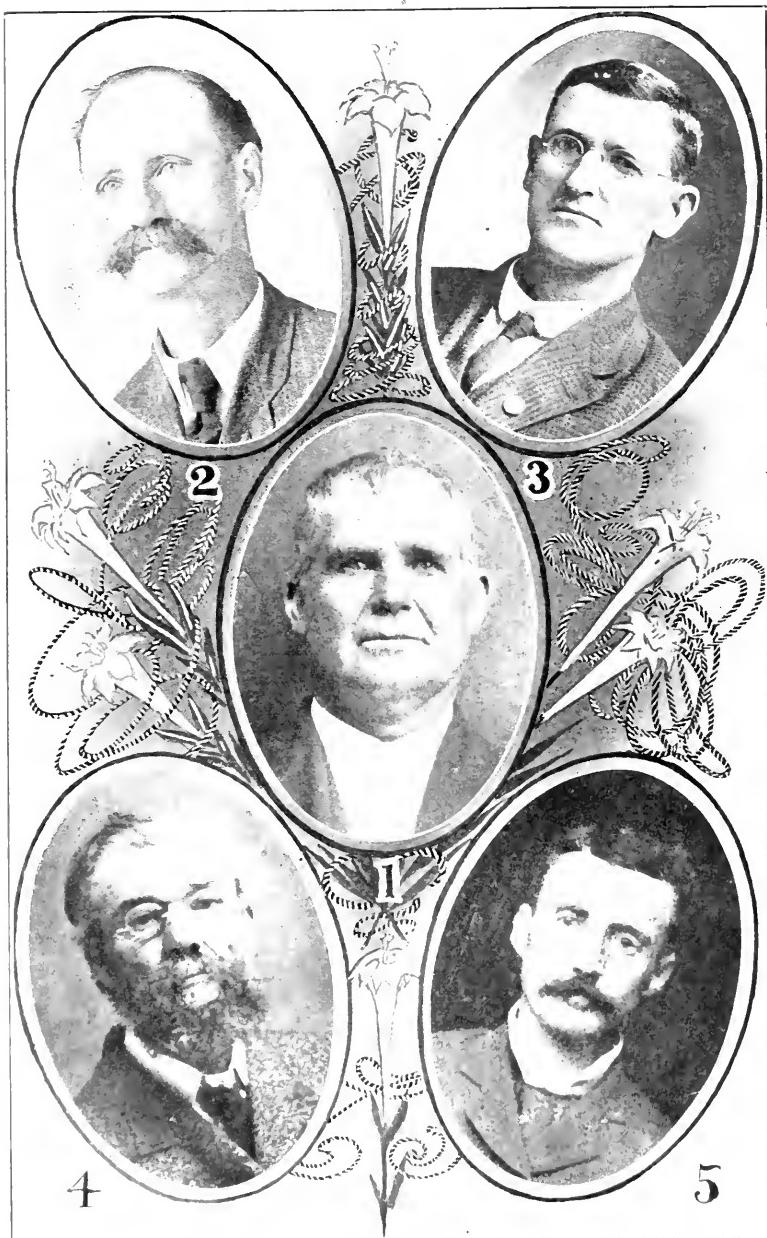
CONNORS, J. P., Canadian, Okla.—Ex-Vice-President Oklahoma State Union; President Oklahoma State Board of Agriculture; President Board of Regents of State Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges; Member of State School Commission; Chairman of State Pure Food, Dairy and Drug Commission; Vice-President State Banking Board; President Board of Regents of State School of Mines; Secretary Board of Control of State Prisons; Member of State Pardon Board, and Member of State Tax Equalization Board.

COLLINS, J. B., Dryden, Okla.—An intelligent, hard worker. He avails himself of every means for the education of his children; joined the Union in the early days in Greer County; has been County Lecturer three terms. Being a working farmer, he is acquainted with the hopes and disappointments of his class of people, therefore, his lectures carry conviction.

CAVES, J. M., Canadian, Okla.—Lecturer and Organizer; has lectured and organized in several States, especially in Kansas and Oklahoma. Caves has done some good work.

CARTER, A. J., Mayesville, Okla.—Lecturer and Organizer. In the early days in the Union in Oklahoma, he was quite active.

DAWS, S. O., Guthrie, Okla.—The old war horse of Unionism in Oklahoma. He has been engaged in active Union work since the organization in Washita County; was first elected County Lecturer and Organizer, then delegate to the first State Union, known as Indianola; was elected President of that body by acclamation; served two terms, the constitutional limit; was then elected State Lecturer and Organizer. No more earnest Union man than Daws ever worked in the State. Always working for peace and harmony among the members. He knows from experience what the burdens are the farmer has to carry. He is an earnest and fluent talker, and is still a power among his people in the State. He never misses a State meeting, and his



STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, NORTH CAROLINA DIVISION.

1. ORSON MORROW, Chairman. 2. P. P. W. PLYLER, Secretary.
3. T. F. CORNWELL. 4. W. G. CROWDER. 5. J. P. COGGINS.

advice on important matters is always sought. Daws was born in Kemper County, Mississippi, on the 28th day of December, 1848. His ancestors on his father's side were from Ireland. His maternal forefathers came from the region of the Baltic. He moved to Texas in 1868. In 1881, he was appointed County Alliance Organizer for Parker County. In 1882, he was elected State Lecturer of the Alliance. After the National Alliance was organized, he served as National Organizer in Mississippi for awhile. He is at the present time State Librarian of Oklahoma.

DIAL, HARDY, Tecumseh, Okla.—Was born in Kaufman County, Texas, June 24, 1854; joined the Grange at the Irby Schoolhouse, Barker County, Texas, on the 5th day of May, 1873; lived through the life of the Farmers' Alliance and lastly joined the Farmers' Union at Etoile, Texas, 1903; has been in the Farmers' Union work from that day till this. Most of the time has been Organizer and Lecturer; now is Assistant State Organizer and Lecturer-at-Large for Oklahoma.

DOUGLAS, B. T., Erick, Okla.—Was born on a farm in Texas, May 15, 1867; attended the country schools of his county and later spent five months in Austin College; has been a member of the Farmers' Alliance; joined the Farmers' Union in 1902; assisted in organizing and building a co-operative gin; has served as President of his County Union and as a member of the State Executive Committee.

DUFFEY, E. E., Lexington, Okla.—A prominent farmer of Cleveland County. Once elected a member of the Legislature. He was at an early day prominent in Union work in the county; was Vice-President of the State Union; was appointed by the State Union Chairman of Committee on Legislation to attend Constitutional Convention at Guthrie, to aid and have incorporated in convention of Oklahoma the twenty-four labor demands, which immortalized that document.

ESTES, P. C., Snyder, Okla.—One of the early organizers of the Union of West Oklahoma; one of its most faithful workers, who has done a general work over most of the territory of the new State. He is a Baptist minister of local prominence; was elected Chaplain of the first State Union, holding same for two terms; never missed a State meeting since organization.

EDDY, F. B., Edmond, Okla.—Organized Comanche, Caddo, Oklahoma, Lincoln and a good portion of Canadian, Logan,

Blaine, Cleveland, Pottawotamie, Payne, Kiowa, and Washita. He is forty-one years old and is still in the work as Assistant State Organizer. He has organized about 350 locals.

FOWLER, O. E., Durant, Okla.—Joined the Union in June, 1904, at Durant; was the chartered Secretary of this local; was employed by Texas Union prior to his State Union to lecture and organize from December, 1904, till February, 1905; was elected delegate to the Shawnee, Okla., Convention, when State Union was organized; worked as Secretary for State organization till June 1, 1905.

GARRISON, WILLIAM, President of Oklahoma, Pond Creek, Okla.—Is a native of Green County, Missouri, where he was born in 1839. He served through the civil war with the Eighth Missouri Regiment. Returning from the war, he entered Arlington College, September, 1865, graduated in 1868, after which he taught for two years. In 1879 he moved to Barber County, Kansas, and in 1893 moved to the Territory of Oklahoma, where he has ever since resided. He joined the Farmers' Union shortly after the movement began in the Territory, and was elected State President at the convention in 1908.

GRIFFIN, E. A., Crescent, Okla.—An early member of the Union; served a term as State Organizer; was also Secretary of the Logan County Co-Operative Association.

HARRISON, WILLIAM H. A., Checotah, Okla.—Was born in Wayne County, Missouri, April 31, 1846; joined the Grange, the Farmers' Alliance, and the Agricultural Wheel; joined the Farmers' Union in the Indian Territory, in the spring of 1905; has served as Secretary-Treasurer of the local ever since. The night that he was initiated he was elected District Organizer and Lecturer of the Tenth District; served for two years; was elected as a delegate to the first State Union of Indiana; has represented district and county since Statehood; was elected delegate to the first National meeting at Texarkana; was elected a member of the State Executive Committee of Oklahoma last August.

HOOK, C. E., Shawnee, Okla.—An intelligent young farmer, who has been an energetic and enthusiastic developer of Union principles; was elected State Secretary-Treasurer, August, 1908, without solicitation; is now serving first term with credit to self and with honor to the Union; is earnest, energetic and efficient

officer; wins friendship of brothers that open gates to greater and more prominent work of the future.

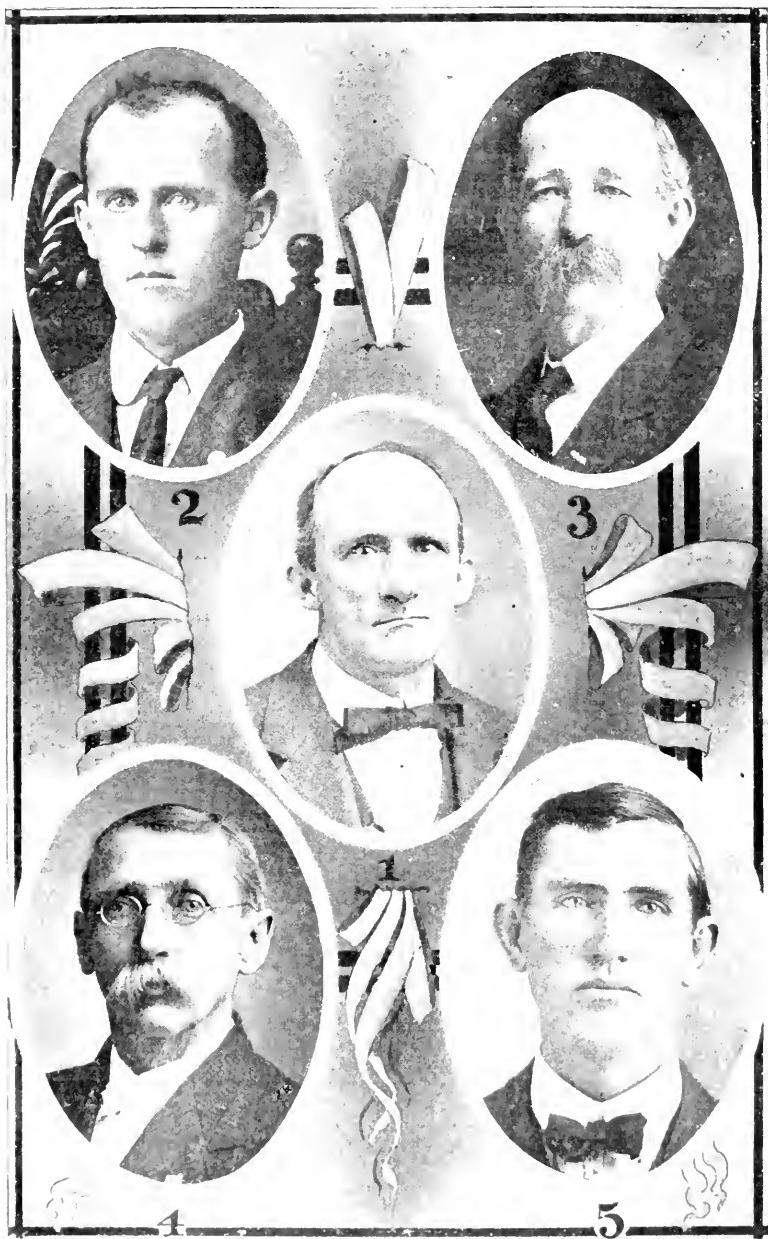
HARRISON, J. W., Colorado City, Okla.—Was elected first President of Kiowa County Union, and was a delegate to form the Territorial organization into the State Union; was made one of the Executive Committee, and afterward elected Secretary-Treasurer; has done good work for the Union.

HOUCHIN, J. W., Tecumseh, Okla.—Is a hard working farmer from Kentucky; an early member of the Union; at all times interested in the success of the organization, taking prominent part in the discussion of all questions affecting the organization in county and State. He is one of the State Lecturers.

HINDS, J. B., Dill, Okla.—Is a prominent farmer, with a good farm and a nice home, who espouses the cause of the Union; was made a member of the first organization in his county; at once accepting the commission of General Organizer under the administration of President Murray and National Union; at once became prominent and successful in the organization of the Union in Oklahoma.

HANSON, B. C., Coalgate, Okla.—An early organizer for the Union; was elected one term as Secretary-Treasurer of the State Union; is of German extraction.

JEFFORDS, T. M., member National Board of Directors, Elgin, Okla.—Is a native of Illinois, where he was born and reared on a farm near the town of Winchester. He attended the country schools of his neighborhood and later entered the high school of Winchester. Leaving the high school, he entered the University of Missouri, where he remained for sometime. For a number of years he engaged in teaching in his native State, first as assistant principal of the High School, at Winchester, and then as principal of the school at Vermont, Ill. He returned to Winchester after nine years and became superintendent of the city schools. In 1900 he moved to Oklahoma and purchased a farm, upon which he now lives. He was elected a member of the National Board of Directors of the Farmers' Union at Little Rock, 1907, and was re-elected at Fort Worth, 1908. He is now secretary of the board and is one of the indefatigable workers in the Union ranks. Has recently been engaged by the State Board of Agriculture of Oklahoma to organize and conduct farmers' institutes. He is an intelligent, broad-minded man.



PROMINENT WORKERS, NORTH CAROLINA DIVISION.

1. W. T. SWANSON, Prominent Organizer.
2. J. E. C. FORD, Ex State Organizer.
3. D. A. RANDOLPH, Member First State Executive Committee.
4. R. B. HUNTER, Ex-State Lecturer.
5. JOHN J. LOGAN, Member First State Executive Committee.

JONES, J. C., Ada, Okla.—Is a hard working farmer, who espoused the Union cause at first appearance in Indian Territory; became a member and prominent local worker.

JOHNSON, LEONARD, Doxie, Okla.—Is a hard-working farmer, who believes in organization and co-operation; has done a great deal of lecturing.

KELTNER, J. H., Stonewall, Okla.—Has attended several State and National Conventions.

MURRAY, HON. WILLIAM H., President of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and the Speaker of the first Legislature of Oklahoma, Tishomingo, Okla.—Is one of the prominent Farmers' Union men, and identified with the organization since it was founded. He was born November 21, 1869, in Grayson County, Texas, where he lived until some twelve years ago, when he moved to the Chickasaw Nation, now a portion of Oklahoma. He was a member of the Farmers' Alliance in Texas; was a member of the first State Union organized in Oklahoma, assisted in drawing the constitution, and in 1907, was on the committee that drew the new constitution for the State Union at its re-organization in Oklahoma, which contains many new sections drawn in the light of the experience of the organization. He was a member of the first National Union, which met at Texarkana, as a delegate from Oklahoma, and while he has taken a very active part since its organization, he has invariably refused, although often solicited and urged, to accept office in the Farmers' Union, saying that he could do more by not being an officer, he would not then be charged with having an ulterior or selfish motive. He resides upon his farm, five and one-half miles southeast of Tishomingo, the county seat of Johnson County, Oklahoma, where he has resided since the 12th day of September, 1901, when he retired from the practice of law and became a farmer, except the two years interim when he was President of the Constitutional Convention and Speaker of the first Legislature. After the adjournment of the Legislature he retired again to his farm, where he now resides.

MOORE, J. S., Altus, Okla.—Was one of the first workers in Greer County, taking prominent part in making old Greer among the great counties in the Union. A delegate to the National Union and author of the resolution in that meeting authorizing the organization of Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory in one State Union. Moore was elected first State Secretary. Leaving his family on the farm, he went at once to take charge

of the work, proving worthy, honest and proficient. At the next annual meeting he was re-elected to the position by acclamation, and served six months longer. On account of meager salary, insufficient to support his family in Shawnee, he resigned, returning to the farm, to the loss of the organization. (The President of the State Union said at the time that the State Union had lost its backbone when this man had to leave work). Moore had every detail of the organization in hand, understanding the conditions of the organization in every section and movements of each day. No vouchers or accounts could pass his eye without protest unless right.

MURRAY, J. S., Wewoka, Okla.—Was one of the first to join the organization when formed in the Indian Territory (since a part of the new State of Oklahoma). Served two terms as Secretary-Treasurer in the Territory. When the Indian Territory and Oklahoma were merged into the State of Oklahoma the Unions were consolidated, and he was made Secretary-Treasurer; has worked hard for the Union; believes in organization and diversification; favored federating all State warehouses to sell all products through one central agent.

MASON, TOM, Canute, Okla.—Is an intelligent, progressive working farmer. He owns one hundred and sixty acres of land in a high state of cultivation; nice home, and a happy family. Before he went to the farm he was an iron worker, and belonged to the Moulders' Association, and for years Vice-President of their National Organization. When the Farmers' Union was mentioned in his section he at once joined, and took a leading part in the work; was made President of his local, and for several years was President of Washita County Union.

MATHEWS, O. H., Tupelo, Okla.—A farmer and an early developer of co-operation; unassuming in deportment; has taken prominent part in State and National meetings; was elected and served two terms on the State Executive Committee; is active in co-operation work.

PEBWORTH, HENRY, Coalgate, Okla.—Was elected on State Executive Committee in 1908, resigning the position shortly after.

RUSSELL, CAMPBELL, ex-member National Board of Directors, Warner, Okla.—Was born at Apple Grove, Morgan County, Alabama, October 22, 1863, and secured his education in an old log schoolhouse about two miles from his home. At seventeen years of age he moved to Johnson County, Arkansas, where he

lived for one year, going from there to the Commercial College of the Kentucky University. In the fall of 1884, he moved to Okmulgee, the capitol of the Creek Nation. In 1887 went into the mercantile business in the Choctaw Nation, moving from there to the farm in 1889, where he has ever since resided. Campbell Russell is one of the leading breeders of Hereford cattle, and has won many prizes at State fairs. At the World's Fair in St. Louis, he was given a diploma as premier champion breeder of Herefords for the Southern division. He was a charter member of Local Union No. 54; delegate to the first county organization of his county; delegate to the first meeting of the Indiana Union, and two years Chairman of the Indiana State Executive Committee. He was elected a member of the National Board of Directors at the Texarkana Convention, 1905, and re-elected 1906, declining to allow his name used at the 1907 meeting, as he had been nominated for the Senate. He established the first free schools ever established for white children in the Territory, except such as had been established by the churches in the Indian Territory. He does his work in a quiet way, preferring to stand back and let others have the honor. He is now a member of the Oklahoma Senate, where he is doing good for his people. The National Convention in 1907, gave Russell a gold medal, which he prizes very highly. Russell is always busy.

Ross, A. F., Durant, Okla.—Brother Ross was one of the early men of the Union in the Indian Territory; he at once became an enthusiastic Union worker; was delegate to the State Union at Fort Worth; aided in passing the resolutions of organization; was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee; re-elected by acclamation at second State meeting; at all times and conditions intensely interested and taking official and active part in all matters of State importance; was valuable factor with State President in securing headquarters in Shawnee; rooms for offices, desks and fixtures free to Union at expense of the City, and beautiful hall and offices for State meetings, which the Union enjoys, are attributable to the personal efforts of Brother A. F. Ross, an extensive land owner; prominent Mason, and Odd Fellow; two times in the Legislature, dying the day after the second election.

ROACH, TOM, Lula, Okla.—Has been an earnest worker in his section of the State. He has been twice County President; was elected, in 1908, a member of the Executive Committee.

SAUNDERS, HARRY, Crescent, Okla.—In his younger days he was a carpenter; on account of his health he gave up his trade in the city and went on the farm, where he has lived ever since. On the first notices given in the public press of the organization of the Farmers' Union in Texas, Saunders became impressed with the merits of its principles and the importance of organization. He wrote at once to those who were in authority and through his agency and instrumentality an organization was formed in his community, which was developed into one of the strongest and most important local Unions in the State. Its work in co-operation and the developments of the principles of Unionism is well known. He still holds a commission as Assistant State Lecturer and Organizer. Saunders has been a faithful worker.

STALLARD, H. H., Shawnee, Okla.—Was born in Virginia, just at the close of the great Civil War. He came of an honest, hard-working class of people, who had helped to maintain the dignity of the South before and during the war. Young Stallard found it difficult to get a chance to go to school and his education was neglected up to his sixteenth year. At sixteen he was given permission to keep all that he made, and by hard work he saved enough to go to school. He entered Milligan College and alternately taught and studied till he gradated. He settled eventually in the West and there became identified with the Farmers' Union.

SMITH, FREEMAN R., Vice-President Oklahoma State Union, Canadian, Okla.—Was born in 1868, near Granada, in Granada County, Mississippi, in 1875. His father, H. N. Smith, moved with his family to Canadian, Indian Territory, where the subject of this sketch was raised, and has lived there ever since; has been a member of the Farmers' Union about five years; served two years as Secretary-Treasurer of the Twelfth Recording District of the Farmers' Union, and when Pittsburg County Union was organized, was elected Secretary-Treasurer, in which capacity he was serving when elected Vice-President of the State Union of Oklahoma, in August, 1908; has never been able to find a place to lay down or quit working for the good of the Union.

STEWART, L. E., Sulphur, Okla.—Became a member in October, 1904; became a commissioned Organizer under Texas for the Indian Territory, in December, 1904; helped to organize Indiana State Union of Indian Territory and Oklahoma; became a full Lecturer under Indiana State Officers; did some

organizing as well as rebuilding in that capacity; later helped to organize Oklahoma State Union after Statehood; has served in the capacity of manager of the Farmers' Union Cotton Yard at Sulphur, Okla., for the past four years.

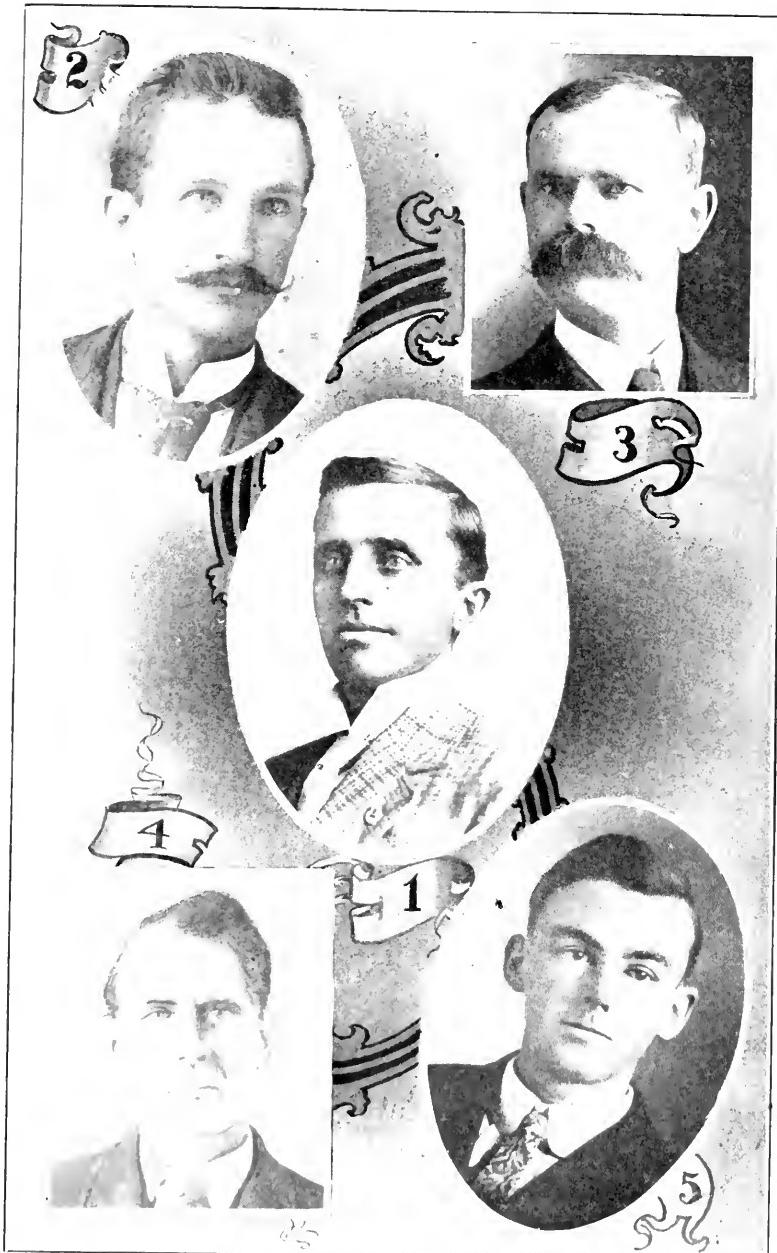
SMOOT, E. M., Gage, Okla.—Elected on the Executive Committee of the State Union, 1908; is well informed upon the questions of the day and a zealous worker; manager of leading co-operative institution in Ellis County, which is a success.

VANDIVER, W. G., Granite, Okla.—Ex-State Executive Committeeman. He appears to be all right.

WEST, J. A., Pauls Valley, Okla.—An early convert to Unionism. A working farmer; enthusiastic advocate of co-operation and organization among farmers. In the organization of his county he was elected President of the County Union, filled the position with credit and honor to the county; became prominent in State; was twice elected President of the State Union. West has attended many National meetings and has served on many important committees.

WARD, R. J., Spiro, Okla.—Was for a while an officer in the Indian Territory State Union.

YORK, G. W., Indianola, Okla.—Was born in Viola County, Tennessee, April 1, 1868; moved with his parents to Arkansas, in 1880, and moved to Indian Territory in 1889; joined the Agricultural Wheel in 1890; joined the Farmers' Union in 1904; was elected a delegate to the District Meeting at Durant, and there was elected as a delegate to the Texas State Convention, which convened at Fort Worth, Texas, at which time he was one of the eighteen delegates who secured a charter for the Oklahoma State Union; was in the organization of the Indiana State Union, and gave to it the first secret work; has served as a member of the State Executive Committee, also as Vice-President of the State Union; was a delegate to and assisted in organizing the National Union and has been a delegate to each National meeting since that time; has served as Secretary or President of his home local continuously since organization; was elected President of the Twelfth Recording District Union three times in succession, and when the Pittsburg County Union was organized after Statehood of Oklahoma, was elected President and re-elected in 1909; has organized locals in home district and taken advantage of every opportunity to advance the cause of the Union.



STATE OFFICIALS AND EX-STATE OFFICIAL, COLORADO DIVISION.

1. GEORGE B. LANG, State President.
2. J. F. BREWER, Vice-President.
3. H. S. STOVALL, Ex State Secretary.
4. PARDON SALES, State Organizer.
5. ARTHUR S. MANNING, State Treasurer.

CHAPTER XXX.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES—OREGON, SOUTH CAROLINA,
TENNESSEE.

OREGON.

SIKES, F. A., Milton, Ore.—Has charge of the organization work in Oregon; joined at Walla Walla, Wash., when the Union first made its appearance in that State. He served as Secretary of the Walla Walla local till organized at his home. He was a delegate to the Washington State Convention, June 15-16, 1908, when that State was organized. At the close of this convention the work of organizing Oregon was placed under his supervision. He was subsequently elected by the locals of this State delegate to the National Convention, which met at Fort Worth, Texas, September 1, 1908. He now has two organizers at work and hopes to have Oregon ready for a State organization in the near future.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

ASHLEY, JOSHUA, W., Honea Path, S. C.—Has been President of Anderson County Union for two years, and Business Agent since first joining. He organized the Anderson County local, but his work has been largely along lines of arousing locals to greater interest. Has never sold a bale of cotton since the Union fixed the price at 15 cents. He urges farmers to diversify, and stop raising all cotton crops. Was a member of the Constitutional Convention that adopted the present constitution of the Union.

ASHE, J. FRANK, McConnellsburg, S. C.—Prominent in Alliance days; President York County Farmers' Union; member of the State Executive Committee, Fifth Congressional District; good farmer and a good Union worker.

ANDERSON, J. WADE, Laurens, S. C.—Identified with the Alliance movement; County Business Agent of Laurens County Farmers' Union; good business ability.

ANDERSON, W. L., Greenwood, S. C.—Ex-State Executive Committeeman; President of Greenwood County Union; successful farmer; good worker in the Union cause; has done some organizing work.

BAKER, LUCIUS L., Bishopville, S. C.—Member of the Farmers' Union of South Carolina; was born on his father's farm in Sumpter County, December 24, 1868; was educated in the common schools of his county; by profession is a farmer. In October, 1907, he joined the Farmers' Union as a charter member. In January, 1908, he was elected a member of the State Executive Committee from the Seventh Congressional District. At the annual meeting of the State Union at Columbia, he was re-elected. At a call meeting of the State Union held at Columbia, January 20, 1908, he was appointed Chairman of the Legislative Committee and represented his State Union before the Agricultural Committee of Congress. He is a successful farmer, and a man of superior business ability; quite influential in the counsels of the Union.

BURNS, S. A., Anderson, S. C.—Was among the first to join the Union in Anderson County. He went to Columbia and conferred with the national president about starting the work in his county. The national president returned to Anderson with him, and they together organized the first local Union in the State; has been County Secretary for two terms; has attended State meetings and rallies on many occasions.

BROWN, W. C., Newberry, S. C.—Is a charter member of the first local Union organized in Newberry County; was elected President of the County Union when organized and served for two terms, declining re-election for a third term; was delegate to the first State meeting after his county was organized, and was there elected a member of the State Executive Committee. He has done his full duty.

BOGGS, JOHN T., Liberty, S. C.—Was a charter member of the Grange; later was a charter member of the Farmers' Alliance. When the Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union came along, was put on the charter and was soon commissioned Organizer; was first County President of Pickens County Union; member of the first State Executive Committee; was re-elected at the second annual meeting of the State Union; has written many articles for various papers.

HARRIS, B., President of South Carolina, Pendleton, S. C.—Was born, December 31, 1851, at Townville, South Carolina. He attended the country schools for a short while, and when twenty years old went to school for six months. By occupation, B. Harris is, and always has been, a farmer, and is noted for the excellent breed of live stock which he raises. He joined the Farmers' Union soon after it was started in Anderson County, and was elected President of the State at the called meeting held in Columbia, and again re-elected at the annual convention in 1907.

HARRIS, JOHN B., Westminster, S. C.—President of Oconee County Union; has aided in organizing and building two warehouses; has done some organizing work and otherwise aided in building up the Union in his State; has been delegate to every annual convention since State was organized.

HENDRICKS, J. F., Liberty, S. C.—Organizer in the Northern part of the State; has organized many local Unions; has been a delegate to the State Convention and to the National meeting held in Atlanta.

KEITT, JOSEPH L., Pomaria, S. C.—Member of State Executive Committee; born April 1, 1857; holds diploma from the Virginia Military Institute and the Columbia College Law School of New York. The latter conferred the degree of LL. B.; joined the Farmers' Alliance, 1889; was President of County Alliance, Lecturer of District Alliance, and President of the State Alliance; was delegate to the last National Convention of the Farmers' Union; takes a leading part in the affairs of the organization.

LAMBERT, J. H., Marion, S. C.—Member of the State Executive Committee, Sixth Congressional District; successful farmer; old Alliance member; has the confidence of the people of his county, who know him well; has done considerable organizing work in Marion County for the Farmers' Union.

MAHFFEY, M. A., Belton, S. C.—Joined the Union at the time of its introduction into the State; was a delegate to the State Union when organized; was elected State Organizer and in that capacity organized a large part of the Northern section of the State. He did much to help build up the Union.

MOORE, W. C., Greenville, S. C.—Ex-State Business Agent. He was sent to Europe as a representative of the Union to try

to establish direct trade relations with the spinners of England. He served as Business Agent for two years.

PARROTT, S. FRANK, Columbia, S. C.—The subject of this sketch, is a native of upper South Carolina, where he has been identified with the advancement of his section. He joined the Union upon its advent into Cherokee County, and was elected Secretary-Treasurer when the County Union was organized; was a delegate to the State Union when the charter was surrendered at Columbia; a delegate when the State Union was re-organized, and a fraternal delegate to Georgia State Convention at Macon. He is one of the leading members of the Union in South Carolina.

PICKETT, J. B., Seneca, S. C.—Prominent in Alliance days; ex-member of the State Executive Committee of the South Carolina Farmers' Union.

PRESLEY, S. P., Due West, S. C.—President of Abbeville County Union; good Union worker.

REID, JOSEPH WHITNER, Reidville, S. C.—He was born in Reidville, South Carolina, August 11, 1862, being the youngest son of Rev. Robert Harden Reid, a pioneer Presbyterian minister. His early education was gained in the Reidville High School, and in 1887, he attended Davison College, from which he graduated in June, 1882, with the degree of A. B. For many years he was a leader, and from September, 1900, to June, 1906, was principle of the Reidville High School for girls. His sympathies have always been with the farmer and the man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow. It was natural then, that he should become identified with the Farmers' Alliance. In 1888 he was elected State Secretary of the Alliance, and the fact that he served in this capacity for thirteen years is ample testimony both as to his loyalty and ability. He became a member of the Farmers' Union in 1907, and on January 22, 1908, was elected State Secretary. He is an accomplished bookkeeper, and the Secretary's books are models of neatness and correctness. He is also editor of the Carolina Farmers' Union Sun, a paper which is an influence for good to the Union in its territory.

RICHARDDS, J. G., Liberty Hill, S. C.—Good speaker; has done some organizing work for the Union; is now a member of the House of Representatives, and it was mainly through his work in the Legislature that the lien law was repealed at the last session.

STIBLING, J. C., Pendleton, S. C.—For sometime a member of the State Executive Committee; has been a delegate to most of the State Conventions; was a delegate to the National Convention at Little Rock, 1907. He has done some good work as a representative of the Farmers' Union News Bureau.

WAKEFIELD, T. T., Anderson, S. C.—Joined the first local ever organized in the State, and was elected President of it at the time; was elected Vice-President of the first County Union and later President. When the State Union was organized, he was elected Vice-President. He is Secretary-Treasurer of the Anderson County Warehouse, the largest Union warehouse in the country, and is doing all that he can to keep his county in good working order.

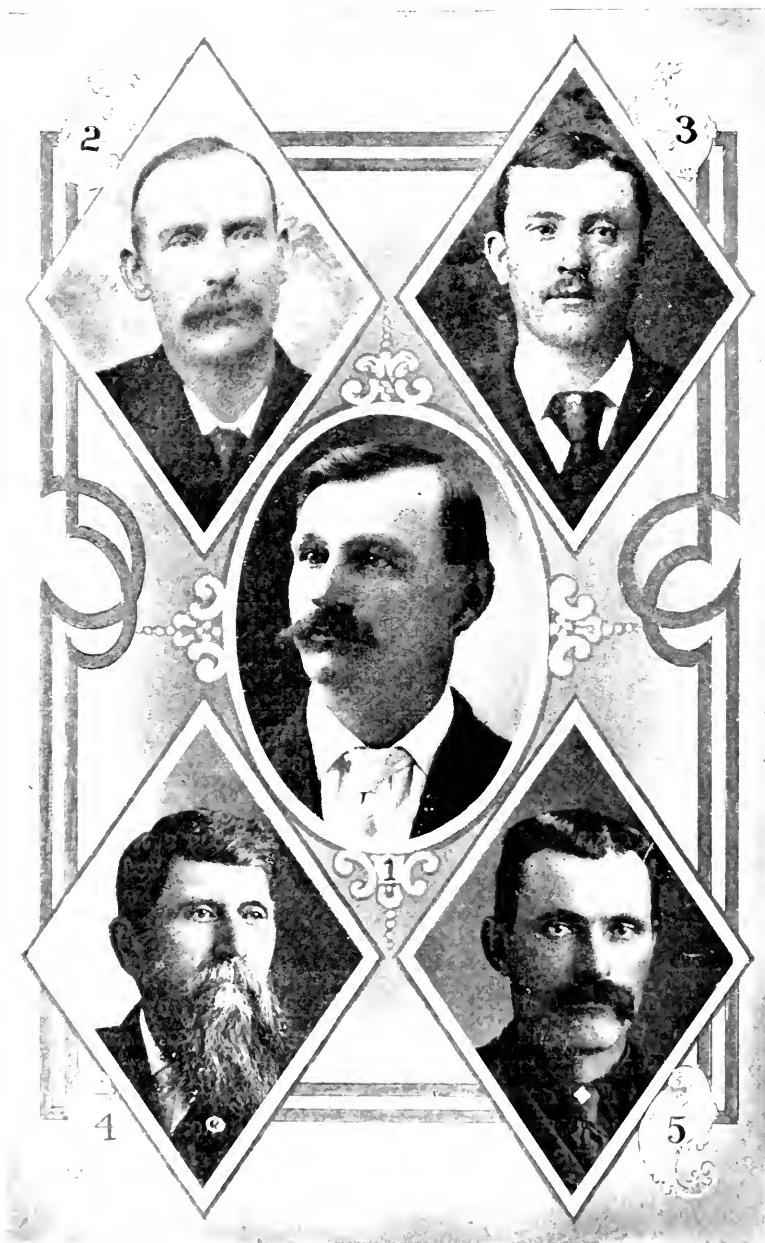
WATSON, J. BELTON, Anderson, S. C.—Good speaker; active worker; has been a member of the Legislature.

TENNESSEE.

ADAMS, C. C., Sharon, Tenn.—He was a member of the Agricultural Wheel and State Lecturer of Tennessee from the time of its organization till it was merged with the Alliance; has been a member of the Farmers' Union ever since it was introduced into his section of the State. Since March, 1907, has been a member of the Lecture Bureau and lectured in Middle and West Tennessee; has been a delegate to the last two State meetings.

ARNOLD, W. R., Pinson, Tenn.—Was a charter member of the first Union organized in Tennessee and has been at work in the field for two and one-half years. He has organized about 75 local Unions and made about 400 speeches; has attended the State and National Conventions.

BROOKS, T. J., Secretary-Treasurer Tennessee State Union, Atwood, Tenn.—Author of a defense of the principles of the Farmers' Union and of future dealing; was born in Carroll County, Tennessee; moved to Texas at the age of twenty-one, where he worked on a farm; returned to Tennessee and entered the Southern Normal University; taught school three years; joined the Farmers' Union twenty-six miles from home and organized a local Union on his way home. At the meeting of the first State Union, April, 1906, he was elected State Secretary-Treasurer and has held the position ever since. He has attended as delegate every National meeting, and has been on



PROMINENT UNION WORKERS.

- 1 E. W. WILSON, Colorado, Member State Executive Committee.
- 2 T. J. SWINY, Colorado, Member State Executive Committee.
- 3 H. F. EGERTHART, Colorado, Member State Executive Committee.
- 4 PARIS HENDERSON, California, Ex Vice President of Kansas.
- 5 J. M. KNELLAND, California, Business Agent.

many important committees. In his work for the Union he has traveled more than 10,000 miles and made 500 speeches, many of which have been before State and National Unions, where he was invited to speak. Brooks is an able speaker and writer, and his articles are read from Maine to California. His style is strong and elegant and never fails to catch the attention of the reader. His address on "Future Dealing," February, 1908, was printed in the Congressional Record, and for that reason is a rare compliment to Brooks' ability. He played a considerable part in the making of the new ritual. He is one of a committee of seven appointed at New Orleans to confer with the business men of the city to secure co-operation in maintaining equitable prices for cotton. Brooks is a strong young man.

BABB, J. G., Ex-State Lecturer, Michie, Tenn.—Has been a good organizer; has organized in Texas, Arkansas and Tennessee. The total number of Unions organized by him will reach 200. He has traveled thousands of miles and made hundreds of speeches.

CORBETT, W. S., Alamo, Tenn.—Has been a good organizer. He has been instrumental in getting in about 1,200 members; has attended several of the State meetings; was elected President of Crockett County Union, 1908, and re-elected, 1909.

CUNNINGHAM, T. W., Troy, Tenn.—Member State Executive Committee; was elected to this position at the last State meeting.

EPPERSON, T. N., Chairman of State Executive Committee, Humboldt, Tenn.—Joined the Farmers' Union soon after its advent into Tennessee, and has devoted the principal part of his work to Madison County; is President of the County organization, also Secretary of his local.

GRIFFIN, J. F., Memphis, Tenn.—Is editor of *The National Union Farmer*, a publication which has done much to advance the cause of the Union. He is also ex-manager of the Tri-State Purchasing Agency. He has the elements of a successful business man, and is prospering; is a physician by profession, although his time is now devoted to other things; is a hard and energetic worker, and is widely known in Tennessee.

GIBSON, MISS LOLA, Tennessee.—Delegate to last State meeting, where she served on important committees. She was elected delegate to the National Convention.

HALE, A. D., McMinnville, Tenn.—Organized first local in Warren County and aided in forming the County Union, which has built a Union telephone line. He also organized the first two locals in Franklin County; is well known and successful farmer.

HUDSON, DR. H. P., ex-Chairman State Executive Committee, Brownsville, Tenn.—Has long been a factor in farmers' movements; is now a member of the Grange and was a member of the Wheel and the Alliance; was Grange editor of his county paper for a number of years; has been delegate to the National Conventions and an attendant at every State Convention; an earnest worker.

HIGGS, HOMER L., Memphis, Tenn.—Ex-editor of the *National Union Farmer*; delegate to the National Convention and member of the committee to revise the ritual. For quite a while Higgs was a hard worker for the Union.

JARRELL, G. G., Johnsonville, Tenn.—Was born and raised in Humphrey County, Tennessee; has worked hard for the success and promotion of the Union since becoming a member; has traveled about 3,000 miles and made a number of speeches; is a member of the State Executive Committee, District Executive Committee, and County Executive Committee.

MONTGOMERY, J. E., State President Tennessee, and Vice-President of the National Union, Gleason, Tenn.—Was born in Weakly County, Tennessee, April 29, 1850, and lives today on the farm that he was born on. He was educated in the schools of the county. His father and two older brothers enlisted in the Confederate Army and served during the war, the youngest brother returning home May 23, 1865. He was the oldest at home, looking after the family for four years as best he could. He received a good education for the times; taught in the public schools; is a member of the Masons; was Justice of the Peace in his county for twelve years. He delights in country life, wishing to be free from the noise and dust of the city; has been a member of the Farmers' Alliance and the Agricultural Wheel, and remained in both organizations till they died. He joined the Farmers' Union, October, 1904, and was elected President of the Tennessee Division of the Farmers' Union in April, 1905; re-elected 1906; re-elected 1907, and re-elected 1908. He is the only State President Tennessee has ever had. He was elected

Vice-President of the National Union, 1906; re-elected, 1907, and again in 1908. He is a successful and progressive farmer.

MCDOWELL, JOHN H., Union City, Tenn.—Was born on a farm in Gibson County, Tennessee, in 1843, and served through the Civil War; was for five years editor of the official organ of the Alliance; has served three terms as a member of the State Legislature, and one term as State Senator. He is now Major-General of the Confederate Veterans of Tennessee. He joined the Farmers' Union upon its introduction into Tennessee, and is now serving as President of his County Union and Chairman of the County Executive Committee. He was elected a delegate to the National Convention of 1909, at a recent session of the State Convention. He was President of the State Alliance of Tennessee for five years. He was editor of the *Toiler*, the official organ of the State Wheel of Tennessee.

NEWTON, J. D., Jackson, Tenn.—Has been prominent in civil and political matters; has been editor of some of the leading daily papers in his State; joined the Farmers' Union in January, 1906, and has been active in the work ever since. At the meeting in Jackson, he was elected a member of the Board of Control of the Federated Warehouse System, and is now Chairman. At a recent session of the Tennessee State Union he was elected a delegate to the next National Convention. He is a good business man.

PERKINS, W. G., Stantonville, Tenn.—Soon after joining the Union he was appointed Organizer for his home county, McNairy; was elected President of his County Union and has served in that capacity for three years; was one of the number to whom the charter for the State Union of Tennessee was granted; has been delegate to most of the State meetings and has served his State for three consecutive terms as a member of the Executive Committee. He is now a member of the Legislative Committee of Tennessee.

RHODES, LUCIAN M., Vice-President of Tennessee State Union, Huntingdon, Tenn.—Was born in Carroll County, Tennessee, October 13, 1874. He has lived in the country on a farm all of his life, where he has been engaged in farming and teaching. He joined the Farmers' Union, May 11, 1907, and began the work of lecturing and organizing, September 30th, of the same year. He was elected President of his local Union the night he was initiated, and was shortly afterward made Organ-

izer and Lecturer of his county. He was sent out by the State Union to lecture through counties of the State, and in his work he initiated between 800 and 900 members. He is now serving as Vice-President of his State.

RHODES, W. H., Kerrville, Tenn.—Member of the State Executive Committee. Elected in 1908, and re-elected in 1909.

TARRANT, J. D., Henning, Tenn.—Member of the State Executive Committee. Elected during the last State Convention.

UPTON, J. T., Organizer and Lecturer of Tennessee, Halls, Tenn.—Was born in Ozark County, Missouri, July 7, 1865, and moved with his father to the Indian Territory, 1879. He joined the Farmers' Union at Allen, Okla., October, 1903. He was sent by Newt. Gresham to the State of Tennessee, May, 1904, for the purpose of beginning the work of organizing the State. He assisted Newt. Gresham in organizing that State Union, April 4, 1905. He was elected Organizer and Lecturer of the State of Tennessee and served in that capacity for two years. He has been a hard worker and devoted his time and energy to the up-building of the Union. He is the founder of a Farmers' Union College in his State. I believe Upton is a good man.

WEBB, A. A., Ripley, Tenn.—Is a native of Tennessee; was a member of the Wheel and Alliance; joined the Farmers' Union at the time of its introduction into the State; was a delegate to the first State Convention, where he was elected a member of the Executive Committee, and has served as Secretary of the same ever since its organization; has helped to organize a warehouse and a Union bank.

WEST, B. G., Memphis, Tenn.—Manager of a big cotton company; expert cotton man; was prominent member of the Alliance. West is one of the best-informed men in the United States on the subject of handling cotton.

CHAPTER XXXI.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES—TEXAS, WASHINGTON.

TEXAS.

ALBRITTON, J. C., Yoakum, Texas.—Was born at Snow Hill, Ala., July 3, 1861; moved to Texas in 1877; was County Lecturer of Navarro County Farmers' Alliance for one term; joined the Farmers' Union, April, 1903; was made Assistant State Lecturer by Newt. Gresham shortly after joining the order; was elected a member of the National Cotton Committee and Cotton Agent for the State of Texas, to look after the cotton for the Union at the Port of Galveston; was elected Secretary of the State Executive Committee in 1907. I think he is a broad-minded man.

AIRHART, J. S., Organizer and Lecturer, Yoakum, Texas.—Has traveled 8,000 miles; made 320 speeches; organized 73 locals; re-organized 11, and has aided in building 9 warehouses; been delegate to two State meetings and delegate to the National meeting at Little Rock. He is still faithfully working and lecturing for the Union.

ARMSTRONG, J. L., Kyle, Texas.—Commissioned Organizer by Newt. Gresham, June, 1904; has traveled many thousand miles; organized about 250 local Unions; made something like 1,200 speeches; helped to organize 16 warehouses, and is one of the oldest active organizers continuously in the work in the State of Texas. He has lectured and organized in 73 counties of the State.

ADAMS, JESSE, Emory, Texas.—One of the Original Ten; is farming in Rains County; he never did much organizing, preferring to stay at home. He is still a faithful member of the Union.

ALLISON, H. H., Abilene, Texas.—One of the early organizers, and delegate to the first State meeting at Mineola.

BRADFORD, BUELL, Colorado, Texas.—Joined the Union, September, 1903, and soon afterwards began organizing, and is still a commissioned Organizer; is serving his county as Lecturer; was a delegate to the National meeting at Texarkana, 1905, and to the Memphis meeting, 1908; has been active in helping to organize and in helping to build warehouses.

BURGESS, G. W., Trinity, Texas.—One of the first Organizers. He pushed the work into Louisiana and Mississippi; did good work, and was elected State Organizer of Mississippi, from which office he afterwards resigned.

BUTTRAM, W. O., Myrtle Springs, Texas.—Began the organization work almost at the beginning. He worked faithfully in Texas for one year, then went to Arkansas, where he associated himself with J. S. Turner.

BOWEN, R. D., Paris, Texas.—Has been a worker ever since he became a member. He is much interested in the building of warehouses, and has done considerable work to enlarge the consumption of cotton.

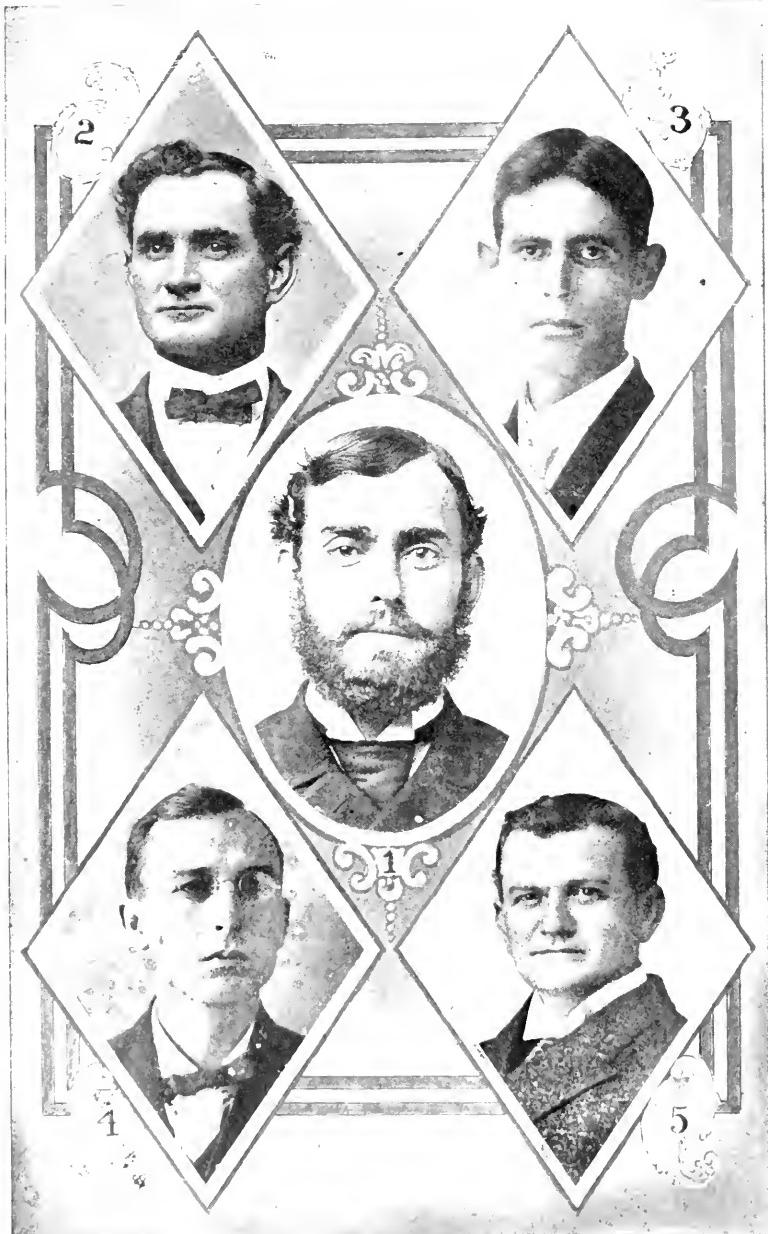
CALVIN, E. A., Houston, Tex.—Was born in Boone County, Missouri, February 26, 1875; came to Texas in March, 1889, and located on a farm twelve miles west of Paris, in Lamar County, where he continued to live until elected President of the Farmers' Union. His parents were very poor, and his early education was neglected. He received fourteen months' schooling before he was 21; afterwards he worked his way through a nine months' course in Grayson College. At the age of 27 years he was elected to the Legislature, and was twice re-elected. It was largely through his efforts that the elements of Agriculture and Horticulture were added to the studies in the public schools of the State; joined the Union early after it was organized, and was unanimously elected Vice-President at the Fort Worth meeting, February, 1905; August, 1905, was elected President at the Waco meeting, and again elected in Dallas in 1906; August, 1907, he retired from all official connection with the Union, but has continued in the work. During his terms as President, he originated, organized, and established the first cotton school ever heard of, and successfully conducted two of these schools, one in Dallas, in 1906, and one in Houston, in 1907; was sent as a delegate to the Conference of Cotton Growers and Spinners in Washington, D. C., March, 1906, and again to the International Cotton Con-

gress at Vienna, Austria, 1907. At this congress he secured an agreement from the spinners assembled from all parts of the world, to do away with the arbitrary rule of deducting six per cent from the gross weight of cotton to cover tare, and to deduct only actual tare. He became General Manager of the Farmers' Union Cotton Company, and successfully managed its affairs through the panic of 1907. He is noted as a strong speaker and an orator, which talents he has devoted to the interest of the Union in Texas and other States. Wherever he has spoken, people listen to him with marked attention.

CHAPMAN, B. F., Dallas, Tex.—The subject of this sketch was born twenty-nine years ago, and began his work with the Farmers' Union soon after the beginning of the organization of the State of Texas. He joined as a charter member of Wilmer local, and was elected Secretary at the time. In January, 1905, was elected County Lecturer of Dallas, and a delegate to the State meeting at Fort Worth. In July, 1905, was elected delegate to the State meeting held in Waco, where he was made a member of the Constitutional Committee. At this meeting he was elected State Secretary-Treasurer; was re-elected August, 1906. In August, 1907, he was elected State Lecturer and Organizer, and filled this position for one term, refusing to allow his name to be used at the 1908 meeting. He is fully imbued with Union principles, and the work he has done has been beneficial.

COOK, E. J., Mt. Pleasant, Tex.—The subject of this sketch is a native of Titus County, Texas, and at the time of organizing the first local Union by Newt Gresham, Cook was a farmer and a practicing physician. He joined the Union in its infancy and taking a commission from Gresham, came to Georgia to assist in the work. He did considerable organizing in Cherokee and Forsyth counties. In 1905, he began organizing in Lamar County, Alabama, as Organizer for that State. He was elected Secretary-Treasurer when the Alabama State Union was organized, in which capacity he served three terms, or until the spring of 1908, when he resigned. Served one year on the National Board.

CHILDERS, J. W., Abilene, Tex.—Came into the organization in its early days, and has been a faithful worker ever since; being a man of much experience and means, he has been able to do good work in his section of the State. He is the author of the



STATE OFFICIALS, KENTUCKY DIVISION, AND PROMINENT ALABAMA WORKERS.

1. ROBERT JOHNSON, Kentucky, President State Union.
2. R. L. BARNETT, Kentucky, Secretary Treasurer.
3. AUBREY L. WILSON, Kentucky, Vice-President.
4. E. J. COOK, Alabama, Ex-State Secretary-Treasurer.
5. CHARLES L. GAY, Alabama, Prominent Worker.

famous "Childers Bill." Has attended as delegate many conventions.

CULVER, L. E., Mt. Pleasant, Tex.—Has been a most faithful Lecturer and Organizer almost from the beginning of the work. He is a hard worker and believes in the work he is doing, as all true members do. He is always ready to go forth to battle for the right when the roll of the faithful is called.

CLIFFTON, M. A., Haskell, Tex.—Ex-member of State Executive Committee; first President of Haskell County Union; organized several local Unions; devoted much time to building the organization in his State.

COLWICK, A. M., Dallas, Tex.—Was one of the early Organizers in Texas; was elected Secretary of the Executive Committee at the organization of Texas State Union, holding the office one year. A strong writer; one of the first editors in the Union.

COCHRAN, W. T., Emory, Tex.—Is one of the Original Ten. He is farming in Rains County. He did some organizing in the early days, going into Louisiana.

DORNBBLASER, O. F., Cleburne, Tex.—Was born in Pennsylvania of Dutch parentage, but has been a resident of Texas for fifty-two years. Has spent entire life farming, and aiding in movements to help the farmer; joined the Farmers' Club in 1866, the Grange in 1871, the Farmers' Alliance in 1882, and helped to organize the first State and the National Farmers' Union. Was Chairman of the Constitutional Committee, serving on it with Newt. Gresham. Is an earnest lecturer and worker for the Union. His daughter was State Secretary-Treasurer of the Texas State Farmers' Alliance for two terms. Dornblaser is a Dutchman, and a good one.

DONALDSON, T. W., Point, Tex.—One of the Original Ten. He is a sturdy, quiet, home-loving farmer. He never engaged actively in the work.

EDMONDSON, JOE E., Fort Worth, Tex.—Was born in Stone County, Arkansas, February 5, 1877, and fifteen days later lost his best friend—his mother. Was reared by his mother's mother, and when nine years of age removed to Texas, where he has resided since. Joined the Union in 1903, and has done good work for the organization in the State; served two years as

County Lecturer of Anderson County, working as an Organizer for four years; served as Assistant State Lecturer for one year, and at the State Convention in 1908 was elected State Lecturer and Organizer; has done effective work in fighting bucket shops in Texas. It would break Joe's heart if he had to quit talking for the Farmers' Union.

EVANS, F. V., Fort Worth, Tex.—His work has been that of lecturing rather than organizing; however, he has organized more than 100 Unions; was delegate to all meetings of the State Union up to 1907. He has organized warehouses, gins and oil mill companies. He is the author of two small booklets, "The Farmers' Union and Its Principles," and "The Cotton Warehouse."

FANT, G. W., Jefferson, Tex.—Joined the Union March, 1904; went to lecturing in August; has organized in Oklahoma, Mississippi, Virginia, and carried North Carolina into statehood; is now Assistant State Lecturer for Texas. On invitation, has visited and spoken in Arkansas, Louisiana, and South Carolina; has worked almost exclusively for the Union since he joined; is at present a member of the Legislature in Texas; is one of the hard workers and faithful Union men, doing all that he can to advance the cause of Unionism in his and other States. There are few harder workers than Fant.

FIELDS, M. C., Lott, Tex.—He has devoted much of his time to lecturing in his and adjoining counties; was elected President of his county five years ago, and has held the office continuously ever since; has attended every State Union and every conference in his State. He is one of the most successful farmers in Texas.

GRESHAM, NEWT., Founder of the Farmers' Union.—Mrs. Little Gresham Templeton, daughter of Hon. Newt. Gresham, and the adopted daughter of the Union, in a brief biographical sketch of her distinguished father, gave a number of facts from which this sketch is prepared. The birthplace and earlier life is gathered from the daughter's story of her father. Hon. Newt. Gresham was born in Lauderdale County, Alabama, February 20, 1858, just two years before the breaking out of the Civil War. Already the war sentiment was abroad in the land, and troublesome times were ahead for the people of the South in general, and the Gresham family in particular. During the four years of war through which Newt. Gresham, as a very young child passed, his family suffered much, as did other families around them. The able-bodied men enlisted in the army, and left the making of

a living to the women and Children. Newt. Gresham was too young to lend any aid. After the close of the war the Gresham family, impoverished by the war, moved to Kauffman County, Texas, where they hoped to recover from the effects of the war, and to again get a start in life. Hardly had the family become settled in Kauffman County before both father and mother died, leaving young Newt. Gresham, who was barely ten years of age, to battle with the stern realities of life. He had but few advantages, and fewer school facilities. Such schools as there were, were poor and far between, and Newt. Gresham, really too young to work, had to forego the advantages of early schooling. His daughter says of him that "It was undoubtedly during this time that the foundation of his character was laid. The strength developed in these early struggles helped him in shaping and leading America's greatest organization for farmers." He never had an opportunity to attend public schools, but such education as he received was the result of his own efforts. He studied and worked and read, until his store of general knowledge was as ample as that of many very well educated people. In May, 1877, Newt. Gresham, then nineteen years of age, went from Cedar Hill, Kauffman County, to Granbury, Hood County, Texas. At the time of leaving home he had but seven dollars, and with a part of this he purchased a ticket over the railroad from Terrell to Fort Worth. Arriving at Fort Worth, he found that there were no railroads from that point to Granbury, and not having money enough to hire a private conveyance, he walked the entire distance, forty miles. At Granbury he hired out to a farmer as a common farm hand, for which service he received the sum of thirteen dollars per month and board. Here for some time he continued to work in the capacity of a farm hand. He married Miss Ida Peters, of Granbury, Texas, in January, 1881. She is still living. Three children, all living, was the result of this marriage. Mrs. Lutie Gresham Templeton, the oldest of his children, was adopted as the daughter of the National Union at the convention held in Little Rock, Arkansas, September 19, 1907.

Newt. Gresham was an indefatigable worker, and a firm believer in the rights of the farming class. He spent his life in labors for the farmer, and gave himself as a sacrifice in their behalf. Joining the Alliance the very first opportunity that offered itself, he was the first organizer commissioned to go beyond the State lines of Texas to push the work of organizing the Farmers' Alliance. As an organizer of the Alliance he began

in Lauderdale County, Alabama, the place of his birth. He spent a year in the State, and when he left there were fifteen hundred sub-Alliances. From Alabama he went as an organizer into the State of Tennessee. He remained in Tennessee but a few months, owing to the failing health of his wife, whom he had carried with him. Leaving Tennessee, he returned to his home in Texas, where he spent the time in efforts to make the Alliance a success. He entered the newspaper field at his old home in Granbury, in January, 1896, removing from there to Greenville, Texas, in 1899, where he continued to edit a paper; January, 1902, removed from Greenville to Point, Rains County, Texas, where he succeeded in getting nine other men with himself to organize the first successful local Farmers' Union. Soon after securing a charter for this local Union from the State of Texas, he was made General Organizer, and in the face of bitter opposition, he pushed the work on a high and ennobling plane. Newt. Gresham died April 10, 1906, after an illness of five days. He was taken sick while organizing the Tennessee State Union, the State from which he had had to retire in 1889 because of the illness of his wife. The foundation he laid was so stable and the plans so equitable that the Union has grown and prospered to an extent that he never dreamed it would reach. Those who know us best are the ones from whom the true history of our lives can be gathered. Those with whom we have been associated through the sacredness of home ties understand and appreciate the nobleness of our character, or despise our traits of meanness. For their appreciation or their scorn comes from knowledge gained through actual contact. No nobler tribute has been paid to the worth of Newt. Gresham than that by his daughter when she says, "My father was honest, sincere, self-sacrificing, always seeing the good points in a fellow man, and never giving a thought to the bad. He was a loving husband and father. Our earnest wish was that he might have lived longer, so that he could rejoice in seeing the great work he started going on so faithfully and helping all who belong to the great organization."

GRUBBS, V. W., Greenville, Tex.—Was one of the early workers. He was not an Organizer, but did much work along the lines of industrial education; counted it to be the greatest of all the principles of the order. He is now president of the Grubbs' Self-Help College, of Campbell, Hunt County, Texas.

GARNER, JOHN T., Gray Rock, Tex.—Was one of the early workers. He was elected a member of the State Executive Com-

mittee at the organization of Texas Union; served two years as Business Agent; is now engaged in farming at Gray Rock, Franklin County, Texas.

HORTON, MISS NELLIE, Ft. Worth, Tex.—Chief Clerk in the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the Texas State Union; was born in Coffman County, Texas, October 14, 1886. She entered the employment of the Farmers' Union under Newt. Gresham, General Organizer, at Point, on the 3d day of May, 1904, one month after having graduated from the Dallas Business University. She is today, in point of seniority, the oldest employe at the State Union headquarters in Texas, having held her position through several changes of administration. In August, 1906, she was elected Treasurer of the Texas State Union, and was the first woman to hold a State office in the Union. As a mark of their appreciation, the Union people of Texas presented her with a handsome watch at the meeting of the State organization in August, 1908.

HAMPTON, SAM J., Frisco, Tex.—“Uncle Sam,” as he is called, is a Union leader in Texas, and has done much to build up the order in that State. He was born in Fannin County, Texas, October 22, 1861, and as he says, began to farm at 8 years of age, making twenty-one crops on the same farm. He was an officer of the Alliance at 18; joined the Farmers' Union in 1904; has been active ever since in organizing and lecturing. He is a champion of the “Pooling and Pledging Plan” as outlined in his “Members' Manual.” He is noted for his ability as an orator, and when he speaks, he carries things by storm.

HOLLOWAY, L. B., Sansaba, Tex.—Lecturer and Organizer. He has done a great deal of lecturing in his State. He is a worker.

JACKSON, C. J., Belton, Tex.—One of the early workers, not as an organizer, but as a man of means, who has given liberally of his means for the upbuilding of the cause. He is one of the largest farmers of his county, and Vice-President of a Belton bank, which is the farmers' friend. One of the old Alliance members.

JACKSON, M. G., Romney, Tex.—Was one of the early workers. He has been a member of the Texas Legislature for the last two terms, and is doing good work there for his class—the farmers.

JAMESON, J. D., Whitney, Tex.—Was elected a member of the State Executive Committee in 1905; served one year; organized a number of local Unions.

KING, BOB, Point, Tex.—Was one of the first Organizers of the Farmers' Union. Soon after the first Union was organized, he went into Delta County, Texas, with Gresham. Instead of a sketch of King, I prefer to let him tell of the work just as it was: "We worked seven days and nights without organizing a single Union. We both being almost financially embarrassed, I suggested that we go home and attend to our own business. He said, 'No, I know that we will succeed.' After which we organized three Unions in ten days, which hardly paid our expenses. So you see we had to live very economically. We generally bought Vienna sausage for our dinner, and did the best we could at nights. We sat under an oak tree after working three days and nights in vain. I looked at Mr. Gresham and said, 'I think we had just as well go home and go to work, as the farmers have been faked by former organizations of this kind for several generations, and they will not be faked any more by such stuff as this.' He threw his can away, looked at me and said, 'Bob, I am sorry you do not understand the principles of the Farmers' Union more than you do. I feel that God has endowed me with power to do something for suffering humanity, and I expect to spend the remainder of my life in this work, let it be what it may. I had rather lay down under this tree, die and leave my family in despair than to go my way to success and this Union go as the Farmers' Alliance did.' It was at this moment I saw the picture of honesty in that great man's face. It was there I gained faith, strength, knowledge and power. So I devoted my whole time in this work six months or more, in Texas, after which Mr. Gresham called me up over the phone and said, 'Bob, you have stayed with me through the dark ages of this terrestrial sphere, and now I desire to put you in the ripest field in the United States.' I immediately obeyed orders, making my way into the Indian Territory, where I met with great success; organizing about one hundred Unions; employed about twenty-eight local organizers, all of whom did great work."

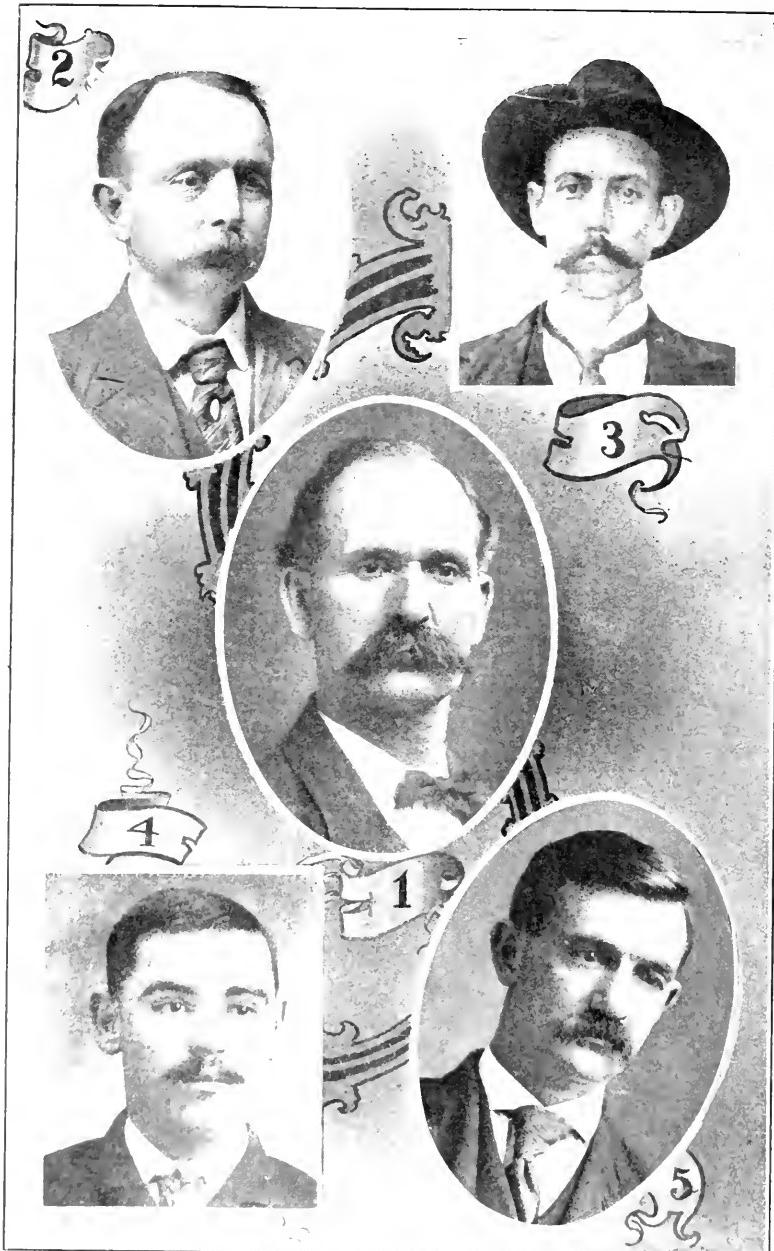
LAAS, H., Brookshire, Tex.—Was born at Cat Springs, Austin County, Texas, on the 15th day of January, 1850, and lived in that county until the year 1896, when he moved with his family to Waller County, where he now resides. He has served his neighbors as road overseer, district school trustee, and county

commissioner. When his county was organized into the Farmers' Union, he was elected President of his local, to which office he was elected twice. When his County Union was organized, he was elected County Business Agent. He served in that capacity until the first regular election, when he was elected President of the County Union, which office he occupied three consecutive terms. In August, 1907, he was elected as a member of the State Executive Committee, and re-elected in August, 1908.

LANE, J. P., Vice-President Texas State Union, Gallatin, Tex.—Has traveled several thousand miles in the interest of the Union; made numerous speeches and organized several local Unions; delegate first national meeting at Texarkana; has been Chaplain of his local Union, County Union and State Union; was elected Vice-President of State Union, 1907, and re-elected, 1908. He is President of the State Home Canners' Association, and also President of the County Farmers' Institute. Lane is trustworthy.

LOUDERMILK, W. T., Comanche, Tex.—Member National Board of Directors; was born in Bartow County, Georgia; moved to Texas while a boy, in November, 1883; settled on a farm in Comanche County; joined the Farmers' Alliance as a charter member; acted as Secretary the first year, then as President for two years; also as County Secretary, and in 1887 was elected County President, serving up to 1894. In 1893 was elected Vice-President of the State Alliance, then served as a State official so long as there was a State Alliance in Texas. When the Farmers' Union was organized, joined it one week before the County Union was organized, at which time he was elected County President and delegate to State meeting, which was called to meet at Mineola, Texas, February, 1904, for the purpose of organizing the first State Union. At which time he was elected a member of the Executive Committee, and has remained on said committee up to August, 1908, with the exception of one year. Loudermilk is of German descent and is a prosperous farmer. Was elected member of the National Board of Directors at the last National Convention.

LEWIS, W. D., Lampassas, Tex.—Was one of the pioneers in the work. He is a forceful and eloquent speaker; was elected a member of the State Executive Committee in 1906, serving one term; has been delegate to several State and National conventions.



STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, KENTUCKY DIVISION.

1. L. THOMAS 2. M. B. TRAPP. 3. JOHN GRADY.
L. J. L. GANT. 5. SAMUEL H. JONES.

LANDERS, A. P., Sulphur Springs, Tex.—Has been a member almost from the beginning of the Union in the State. He was selected in 1904 to visit the cotton mills of the United States with a view of effecting a closer relation of the producer and the manufacturer. He collected much valuable information, being the first to begin the work which resulted in several conferences of the producers of cotton and the spinners of the world. Has served continuously as County Secretary for some time.

LUCE, J. R., Grapeland, Tex.—Was a member of the Executive Committee, 1905, and again 1908. Served as secretary of the Executive Committee, 1906; is now a member of the State Legislature. He did good work on the Executive Committee, and in his connection with the Union has done much organizing and lecturing.

MURRAY, HON. N. C., First Vice-President Texas State Union.—The subject of this sketch was born in Quebec, Canada, March 18, 1851, where he lived with his parents until the fall of 1864, when he moved to Buffalo, N. Y. At the age of thirteen he began life in the city of Buffalo, where he worked until 1869, moving that year to Cleveland, Ohio. He lived in Cleveland until August, 1885, when he removed to the State of Texas, where he has ever since resided. Murray was educated in the schools of Quebec, Canada, and Buffalo, N. Y., receiving a common and graded school education, of which he has made splendid use since. He has been a prominent member of many organizations looking to the betterment of laborers and the advancement of farmers' interests. Before moving to the State of Texas he was a member of the Knights of Labor, a prominent labor organization in the eighties. In Texas he joined the Farmers' Alliance and was one of the first local secretaries of his county. He stayed with the Alliance until it disbanded. He joined the Farmers' Union when the Union was in its infancy, and immediately took a prominent part in Union affairs. Murray was elected the first State President of the Texas Division of the Farmers' Union at Mineola, Texas, February 18, 1904, in which capacity he served until succeeded by E. A. Calvin. The position held by the State President of Texas at the time was equal to that of being National President. Under the administration of Murray the organization was begun in many of the Southern States. Murray is now engaged in farming near Kingston, Texas, and is a firm believer in the final triumph of right over wrong.

MILLER, W. S., Lake Creek, Tex.—Was born on a farm in Rhea County, Tennessee, and when 7 years of age began following a plow. Served in the Confederate army throughout; was in the siege of Vicksburg, and twice wounded. Moved to Delta County, Texas, in 1872. Joined the Farmers' Alliance, and afterwards became a member of the Union. Was at the organization of the Texas Union at Mineola in February, 1904, and has never missed a State meeting. Was twice elected a member of the National Board of Directors, and declined a third election. Is an earnest believer in the principles of the Union, and a consistent worker for its interests. The last National Convention presented him with a gold medal for efficient service.

MONTGOMERY, J. E., Skidmore, Tex.—Was born in San Marcos, Texas, and was educated at the Coronal Institute, San Marcos; became a charter member of the first local organized in Caldwell County, February, 1905; served for two years as County President; was elected President of Lockhart District, composed of six counties, largest District Union in the State; was elected member of the State Executive Committee, August, 1907; re-elected in 1908, and is now serving as chairman of committee.

McCONKEY, J. L., Wichita Falls, Tex.—Member State Executive Committee; born in Illinois in 1866, and removed to Wichita Falls, Texas, in 1888. When Newt. Gresham started the Union he joined at once. Was made Organizer for Northwest Texas, and has traveled hundreds of miles in his work. Was elected first President of his County Union, and still holds that office. Is General Manager and Secretary of the Farmers' Union Warehouse Company, of Witchita Falls. Is a successful farmer and hard worker for the Union's interests.

MONTGOMERY, J. D., Gordon, Tex.—Was with the organization almost from the beginning. He was a most excellent Organizer; was elected State Organizer at the organization of the State Union, and was twice re-elected. As State Organizer of Texas, he commissioned many organizers to do work in the various States; was at one time legislative committeeman.

MORRIS, J. B., Munday, Tex.—Was chairman of the Original Ten. He did not do much organizing, being engaged in farming to such an extent that he could not well leave his home. He has recently moved to West Texas. Ex-Vice-President of the State Union.

MEITZER, E. O., Hattiesville, Tex.—Is a most faithful worker, and has been a faithful worker for farmers' organizations for many years.

MCCORMICK, B. F., Texarkana, Tex.—Has always been a most faithful worker. He is extensively engaged in horticulture, being an authority on this subject in his portion of the State.

MITCHELL, A. A. (Uncle Tobe), Sherman, Tex.—Has always been a faithful and efficient worker for the cause. He is original in his mode of expression, and a very interesting talker. One of the old Alliance members.

NEILL, J. D., Fort Worth, Tex.—President of the Texas State Union; was born near Prescott, Ark., in 1857; moved to the State of Texas in 1893; was elected State Lecturer of the Farmers' Alliance of Texas in 1893, which office he held for three terms; joined the Farmers' Union in 1904; was elected County Lecturer at the time; was elected State Lecturer at Waco, in August, 1905; was unanimously re-elected in Dallas in 1906. He was elected President of the Texas State Union at the Fort Worth meeting in 1907, and again unanimously re-elected at the 1908 meeting. D. J. Neill received but little education, perhaps the entire time that he attended school would not exceed twelve months. In person, D. J. Neill is tall and striking, and as an expounder of Union principles has few equals. He is a descendant of Tennessee ancestry, his father having moved from that State to Arkansas many years ago. Here he served as a member of the legislature. One of his grand-uncles was a colonel in the Texas army, and was killed during the struggle with Mexico. Neill devotes his entire time to Union work; is an enthusiastic advocate of warehouses, and has fought the bucket shops of his State day and night for the last two or three years, or longer.

NABORS, A. M., Kosse, Tex.—Active Lecturer and Organizer; has held many official positions in his county (Limestone).

PYLE, O. P., Dallas, Tex.—Ex-National President of the Farmers' Union, elected at Texarkana, 1905; was born in Franklin County, Arkansas, December 13, 1867. In 1874 he moved with his parents to Texas, where they settled near Ladonia, Fannin County. The family moved to Hunt County in 1877, where young Pyle worked on a farm until he was 21. O. P. Pyle received his education in the common school of Hunt County, and taught for several years after leaving school. He

was a member of the Farmers' Alliance while teaching, and was editor of an Alliance paper at Mineola. He joined the Farmers' Union December, 1902. As soon as he joined the Union he began to plan the making of the organization a business one, rather than political. Long before the constitution was written or the charter obtained, Gresham and Pyle had been friends and co-workers for many years. Pyle gave practically all of his time to the work of the organization from the time he became a member till the spring of 1908. He went before the Board of Ten at their meeting in Emory, Texas, in September, 1903, and asked them to call a meeting to organize a State Union, which was done for February 14, 1904, at Mineola, Texas; was elected presiding officer of the Mineola meeting, and presided over the meeting till organization was effected. Was elected at this meeting a member of the State Committee, and was made chairman. Was again elected a member of the State Committee at Ft. Worth in February, 1905. Began the publication of the *National Co-Operator* at Mineola, Texas, December, 1904, continuing its publication till April, 1908. Moved the paper to Dallas September, 1906. Was the presiding officer at the organization of the Louisiana, Arkansas, Indiana, and Georgia State Unions, all in 1905. Elected National President at Texarkana, December, 1905. Pyle has done some hard work for the Farmers' Union. Resigned in March, 1906. Made speeches for the cause in many States. Is still a member, but not now actively engaged in the work. Believes the real work (which is to make farming a real business profession) has just begun.

PEARSON, J. E., Dodd City, Tex.—Did good work in the early days in Fannin County, and is still doing good work. "By their fruit ye shall know them." He is President of his District Union.

PARK, J. W., Mineola, Tex.—Was one of the pioneers in the work, and is still a worker. He has done much organizing in his section of the State, and has never failed to respond when duty called.

POUND, T. J., Point, Tex.—One of the Original Ten; is a quiet, unassuming farmer. He did not do active work for the order, but has always been a faithful, conscientious member.

PARK, MILTON, Dallas, Tex.—Ex-editor of *The Mercury*; was an active worker of the Alliance, and an able writer. He is an ex-Confederate and takes great interest in the old veterans.

RADFORD, PETER, Whitt, Tex.—Has been a continuous worker in the order almost from the time of its beginning; has organized several local Unions and made many speeches; served two years as a member of the Executive Committee; has made about 600 speeches; has been Lecturer and President of his County Union, and Assistant State Lecturer, and is Chairman of the Board of Directors of his county warehouse.

RHODES, O. H., Emory, Tex.—One of the Original Ten; never did any organizing, but was the financial man of the ten. He is a successful lawyer at Emory, Tex.

RHODES, L. L., Grand Saline, Tex.—A worker almost from the beginning. "The gentleman from Van Zandt" is one of the very best and most eloquent speakers in the State. He loves the word "Union," and has given a great portion of his time to Union work for many years. Ex-member of the Legislature.

RECTOR, JOHN R., Texas.—Was one of the early workers. He was at the head of the fruit and truck department of the Texas State Union.

SUMMERS, HALTON W., Dallas, Tex.—Is a self-made man, having been raised on a farm in Lincoln County, Tennessee. He worked his way through school and into the legal profession. He was twice elected prosecuting attorney of Dallas County, and twice elected President of the District and County Attorneys' Association of Texas. While holding this office, he was engaged in constant warfare with the gambling element, and while yet in office, drafted a drastic anti-gambling bill, which he succeeded in having made a law. It was while engaged in an effort to pass this law that he attracted the attention of the Texas Union, which was seeking to have the old anti-bucket shop law of that State so amended as to be effective. He was employed by *Farm and Ranch*, an agricultural paper, and his services tendered the Union for that purpose. After the bill was drafted, he went to the State capital to take charge of the fight for its passage. After one of the most memorable contests ever waged in that State, extending through almost the entire session, and in which not only the Union, but practically all the moral forces of the State were enlisted, the bill was passed, and the bucket shops quite the State without even testing the law. Summers represented the Farmers' Union before the general agricultural committee of the National Congress in February, 1900. His speech was unanswerable.



FARMERS' UNION EDITORS.

1. C. P. AGRICOLA, Alabama, Editor *Farmers' Union Guide*.
2. J. K. ARMSTRONG, Oklahoma, Editor *Advocate and Union Review*.
3. MISS MEAH M. MERRITT, Arkansas, Editor *Sentinel*.
4. JNO. R. CROUCH, Alabama, Associate Editor *Farmers' Union Guide*.
5. W. D. CREWS, Illinois, Editor *Union Farmer*.

SMITH, C., Fort Worth, Tex.—Joined the Farmers' Alliance in 1889, taking an active part in the same; served several terms as County Secretary; joined the Farmers' Union as soon as it was organized, and has been an active worker ever since; served as local Secretary, and afterward, in 1907, was elected State Secretary; was re-elected in 1908. Smith understands the work in his State.

SMITH, AARON, Ft. Worth, Tex.—Was born and raised on a farm. The printing business and newspaper profession held fascinations for him, and at the age of 23 he gave up the law to edit the *Mt. Pleasant Times-Review*. In 1899 he sold the *Times-Review*, and purchased the *Weatherford Review*, which he edited with signal success for nine years. On April 1, 1908, he assumed the editorship of the *National Co-Operator and Farm Journal* of Texas.

SATTERWHITE, LEE, Teague, Tex.—Worker in the Union cause in his State. As delegate to his State Convention, 1908, he did some splendid work that was of special benefit to the State at large; was delegate to last National Convention; is an ex-member of Texas Legislature.

SHAW, N. A., Texarkana, Tex.—Has always been a faithful worker. He attends most all State and National Conventions. He is one of the largest cotton planters in the entire State. He is now very prominently mentioned for the office of Governor.

SLOAN, J. E., Madisonville, Tex.—Did excellent work in the pioneer days. He is not now prominently engaged in the work, but is a faithful member.

TAYLOR, TOM B., Goldbusk, Tex.—Was born in Mississippi, May 8, 1859; moved to Texas 1882; joined the Farmers' Alliance 1884; joined the Farmers' Union January, 1903; was commissioned Organizer October, 1903; has traveled more than 15,000 miles, making speeches and organizing local Unions; has been President of his County Union; President of his District Union; Business Agent of his District Union; delegate to every State meeting except one; delegate to every National meeting except one; has been Assistant State Lecturer for three and one-half years, and has been a member of important committees at every State and National meeting which he has attended. Tom is training his children to talk for the Farmers' Union.

TEMPLETON, MRS. LUTIE GRESHAM, Wellington, Tex.—Eldest daughter of Newt. Gresham; was born June 15, 1889, at Granbury, Texas. She received her education in the public schools of Granbury, 1897-1900; Greenville, 1901; Point, 1903; Emerson College, 1904, and Add-Ran-Jarvis College, 1907. In August, 1907, she attended the State Convention of the Farmers' Union at Forth Worth, Tex., where she was warmly received by the members of the Union and adopted the "daughter" of the Texas State Union. She was invited to attend the National Convention at Little Rock, Ark., in September, and was there adopted Daughter of the National Union. In October following she attended the State Convention in Georgia, where she was kindly received by the Georgia people. On February 12, 1908, she was married at her home, in Point, Texas, to Mr. R. H. Templeton, of Wellington, Tex., where she now lives. She conducts the "Home Talks" Department of the *Union News*, and is assistant editor of the *Wellington Times*. She takes great interest in the Union, and is devoting much of her time to the end that the organization that her father founded may live forever.

TURNER, J. S., Cado Mills, Tex.—One of the Original Board of Ten, founders of the Farmers' Union; went to organize the State of Arkansas under privileges granted by the board. He commenced the work on the 13th day of September, 1903. The first Organizers that he appointed were H. N. Bulgier and A. Turner. The 18th of September, 1903, Turner established headquarters at Hope, and appointed and commissioned within less than two months thirty-six Organizers, of which the most successful were J. Guy Smith and A. B. Jones.

THOMPSON, J. W., Huckabay, Tex.—Joined the Union in 1903; began organizing from that time, and organized about 250 local Unions; made about 500 speeches; has attended several State meetings. His work has been well done.

TERRY, Bud, Hillsboro, Tex.—Was an early Organizer. He is yet engaged in the work as Assistant State Lecturer.

WEBB, HENRY E., Chillicothe, Tex.—Styled the "Plow-Boy Orator of the Plains of West Texas;" was born near Nashville, Ark., in the year 1868. The father of Henry E. Webb was known as the "Boy Sergeant" of Company C, First Georgia Regulars, during the Civil War. Young Webb received a common school education in the country schools of his State; has

been a member of the Wheel, and a lecturer of the Farmers' Alliance; joined the Farmers' Union, August, 1904; was a delegate to the State Union, 1905; delegate to National Union, December, 1905; was appointed Assistant Secretary; was County Lecturer of Lamar County for two years; was a delegate to the National Union at Little Rock, 1907; delegate from Baylor County to Memphis meeting, January, 1908. At each of these conventions he has held important positions on committees. He has devoted much time to lecturing in Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. He has traveled much in the interest of the Union, spending practically all his time in working for it. Webb is a splendid speaker, and is known throughout Texas as the "Plowboy Orator." Wherever he goes, large crowds gather to listen to his strong and telling speeches. Lately he has been doing some very effective work in the Panhandle section of Texas. Webb never fails to respond when called upon to carry the doctrine of Unionism into new territory or to go to revive a section where enthusiasm is waning. His powers of speech make his work effective. He is much in demand as speaker for picnic occasions, because of the force and carrying qualities of his voice, for, as he says, "it is like a fog-horn."

WELLS, C. W., Madisonville, Tex.—First Sergeant-at-Arms of the National Union; was appointed Organizer soon after joining, and organized some of the hardest counties in Texas; was delegate to the first Texarkana meeting, where he was elected Sergeant-at-Arms; attended every State meeting up to the time of the organization of the National Union; has been active in organizing warehouse companies. He has traveled about 15,000 miles, and has been a good worker.

WATSON, STANLEY, now of Tucson, Ariz.—Was a faithful worker while he remained in Texas, being one of the brightest young men in the movement. On account of ill health, he moved to Arizona in 1907. He is an editor and a good writer; delegate to many conventions.

WHEELER, J. A., Moody, Tex.—Was a pioneer, who is still in the harness; served two years as Vice-President of the State Union, and is now a member of the State Executive Committee. He is a favorite with the Union people of Texas.

WEBB, JAMES C., Red Springs, Tex.—One of the faithful Organizers of Texas, and has done some good work. He has trav-

eled throughout his section of Texas, where he made many speeches, which has been productive of much good to the cause. He is still actively at work under the supervision of the State Lecturer.

WASHINGTON.

ATKINSON, N. B., Waitsburg.—Ex-President Washington State Union; was born in Missouri, January 15, 1859. His father, a farmer, emigrated to California in 1860, where young Atkinson attended the public schools until sixteen years of age, when it became necessary for him to help support the family. In 1879, N. B. Atkinson moved to the Territory of Washington and took a homestead; he has been farming ever since; married July 19, 1891, to Miss Margaret Hodgen, to whom nine children have been born, five boys and four girls. He lives on his farm four miles from Waitsburg, and is one of the leading farmers of his State. He is a big, broad-minded, level-headed gentleman; a man whose advice can be followed with profit. It is possible that the Farmers' Union would not have been organized in the Inland Empire today had it not been for N. B. Atkinson, Joel Wood and H. D. G. Cox. Mr. Atkinson has recently resigned as State President; the main cause of his resignation is the delicate health of his wife. Having a high ideal of right, he felt that it would not be proper to hold the place without devoting more time to the work than it was possible for him to do without neglecting his family and his business. He is a wealthy farmer, farming 1,000 acres of land near his home.

COX, H. D. G., Walla Walla, Wash.—Was one of the first members of the Union in his State. Working with others, he aroused interest in the organization in Washington through a great mass meeting at Waitsburg. Helped to organize locals in Walla Walla, Columbia, and Garfield Counties, in Washington; was a delegate to the State Convention at Pullman, and was there elected a delegate to the National Convention in Fort Worth. Is Vice-President of the Walla Walla local, and State Organizer for Oregon. Was a member of the committee that smashed the sack and warehouse trust, and secured from the railroads the privilege of building railroads anywhere along the line. Walla Walla local subscribed \$1,500 to secure the National Convention for 1909. He has rented his farm, and will devote his entire time to the interests of the Union.

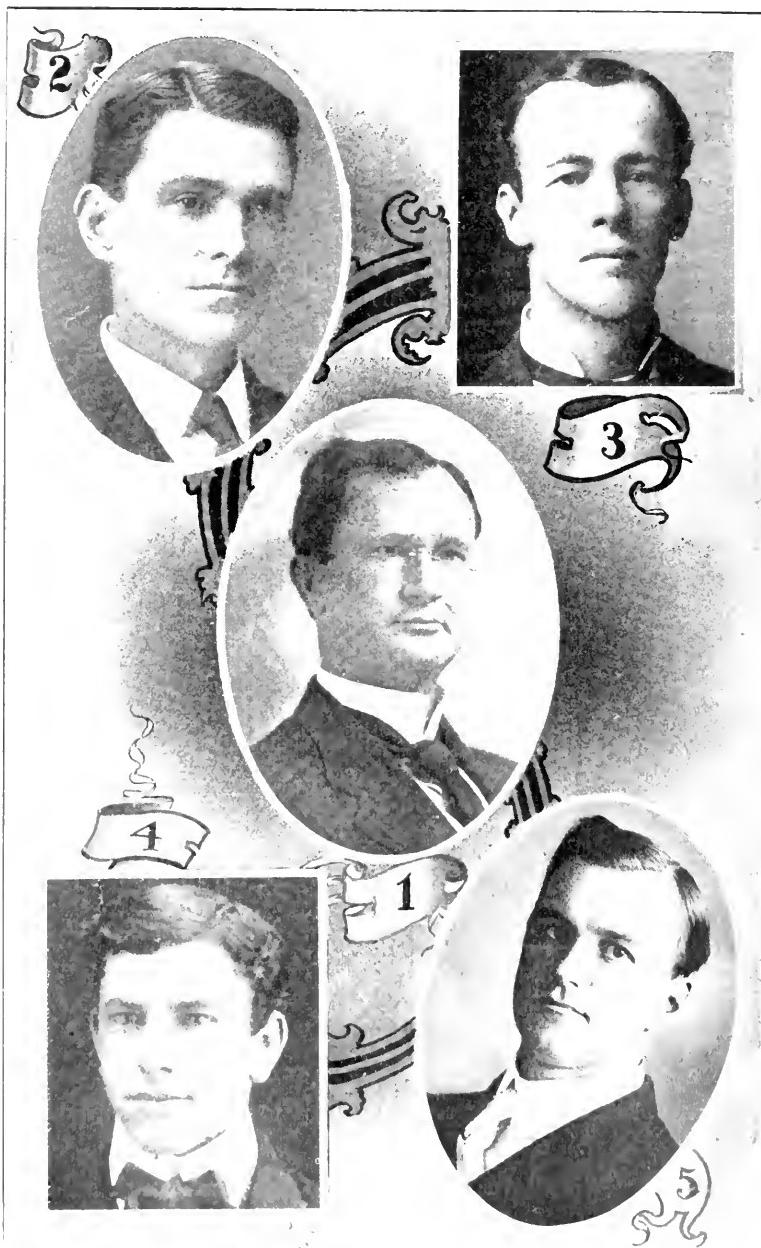
CROW, L. C., Palouse, Wash.—He is of that sturdy, purposeful type that has made the far Northwest great and rich: was born in Johnson County, Indiana, November 3, 1851, and crossed the great Western plains with his father's family in 1853, settling in Lane County, Oregon. He grew to manhood there, attending school about three months in the year, and working on the farm the rest of the time. At the age of 18 entered an Oregon college, from which he graduated at the age of 23. Was married the year of his graduation, and became a teacher in his alma mater. In 1878 removed to his present home in Washington, and for twenty years was a pioneer teacher in the schools of that county. Served two terms as State Senator. Ten years ago gave up teaching and applied himself to farming, at which he made a success. Joined the Union when the organization first entered the State; aided in organizing States of Washington and Idaho; was appointed State President of Washington to fill unexpired term of N. B. Atkinson. Is earnest worker for the organization, and is constantly doing all he can to advance its interests.

CROSS, A. D., St. Andrews, Wash.—Was born in Washington County, Virginia, in 1870; attended common and high school until the age of eighteen years, when he was engaged in teaching, which profession he followed successfully for a number of years. In 1905 moved to Washington; after teaching one term of school at St. Andrews, Wash., he accepted the position of postmaster at that place. He became an active worker in the Farmers' Union from the time the first local was organized in the community. On organization of the State, he was elected State Secretary-Treasurer, and is still filling that office in a very satisfactory manner. The finances of Washington are well managed by the Secretary-Treasurer.

CROUCH, J. A., Waitsburg, Wash.—A newspaper man who has been a strong advocate of the Farmers' Union.

DAY, R. J., Illo, Idaho.—Member of the State Executive Committee of Washington. Elected when State Union was organized.

ELMORE, A. G., Pullman, Wash.—State Organizer of the States of Washington and Idaho; was born in Jack County, Texas, November 24, 1881; moved with his father to Indian Territory in 1890, where he grew up with few school advantages. His schooling consisted of about a twelve-months course in the com-



EDITORS AND EX-EDITORS.

1. S. FRANK PARROTT, South Carolina, Ex-Editor *Farmers' Union Sun*.
2. H. H. STALLARD, Oklahoma, Ex-Editor *Farmers' Union Advocate*.
3. AARON SMITH, Texas, Ex-Editor *National Cooperator*.
4. A. H. CATHERS, Alabama, Editor *Union Farmer and Messenger*.
5. MEAS N. JOHNSON, Colorado, Ex-Editor *Divide Farmer*.

mon schools of Oklahoma, and therefore his education has been obtained largely by his own efforts. His father dying in the year 1900, he was left to support his mother and two younger brothers. In November, 1907, he was sent to Washington as State Organizer by the National Board of Directors, and in June, 1908, he had succeeded in organizing a membership of some seven thousand. Elmore has obtained a large experience by rubbing up against many different kinds of people west of the Mississippi, all of which has created confidence in himself. He is a great worker for the Union, and never lets an opportunity pass to do something that will be helpful and beneficial for the cause. He is strong and able, and his strength and ability is all employed in building the Union.

GRIFFITH, J. M., Wilbur, Wash.—County Organizer of his county; takes great interest in his work.

KLEMGARD, J. S., Pullman, Wash.—Secretary of the Board of Directors of the *Pacific Farmers' Union*, the organ of the Northwest; President of his County Union, and a prosperous farmer.

MCCROSKEY, R. C., Garfield, Wash.—Ex-State Senator; has served on some important committees in the Farmers' Union; an intelligent and prosperous farmer.

REID, J. M., Pullman, Wash.—Was elected President of the Pullman local shortly after joining the Union, and has always taken an active part in furthering the interests of the organization in the Northwest. The work of arranging for the State Convention in Pullman in 1908 was largely in his hands. At that meeting he was placed on the Executive Committee and Terminal Warehouse Committee, being made chairman of each. In September, 1908, the Whitman County Union met at Pullman, and by request delegates were present from all over the State. At this meeting a company was organized to publish an official paper for the Union, and he was elected President-Manager. The first issue of the *Pacific Farmers' Union* consisted of 5,000 copies, and the paper has grown steadily in circulation, influence and value to the farmers of the State. Under the wise and able guidance of the President-Manager it is a potent factor for the Union. He has taken an active part in securing all information possible relative to terminal warehouses at Portland and Astoria, Oregon, and Vancouver, Tacoma and Seattle, Wash., in the formation of warehouse federation embracing the States of Washington, Ore-

gon and Idaho. His work has been directed largely along that line, both personally and through the columns of his paper. He is one of the strong and useful forces in the great and growing Northwest, a section which has drawn to it many able and strong men.

STIMELL, D. B., Waitsburg, Wash.—Attended the National Convention of 1907; also his State Convention, 1908; has been a faithful and honest worker in the Farmers' Union; is a prosperous farmer.

WOODS, JOEL, Waitsburg, Wash.—A prosperous farmer and a loyal member of the Farmers' Union. He attended the National Convention, 1907; also his State Convention, 1908.

CHAPTER XXXII.

POINTS FOUND IN THE FURROW.

LOYALTY is the keynote to the character of the average farmer. Some, however, have more of the key and less of the note. I know thousands of men who will stick like a burr to the organization, no matter what happens. They come mighty near being the heroes of commonplace, everyday life, who never get their names in the newspapers, who never get a Carnegie medal, but who do things in this world.

We have a lot of milk-and-water brethren in the Union. A few of them have been elected to office. They are the best fellows you ever saw, but they never sprout an idea, never fight a fly, never give an obnoxious mule a slap on the withers. They fill up gaps all right, and you need not fear that they will do any harm. Neither do they accomplish much good. I often think they are mere cumberers of the earth.

I have begged, I have plead, I have prayed in local and in National Conventions for the delegates to elect the proper men to office. The same qualities of voting for a man because he has an oily grin, or because he comes from your part of the country, of which I have already spoken, operate to boost incompetents, and sometimes scheming rascals, into office. Until we get rid of this vicious habit, all of our enthusiasm is likely to be spent in vain.

I have had abundant, grievous and amusing experiences with fusses within the Union. Jealousy, petty personal ambition and general cussedness are here and in every other big organization. Some men are so built that unless you do things their way you have got a squabble on your hands. We must cultivate a spirit of breadth and tolerance. Your neighbor's conviction is frequently as good as your own, and you must give him the credit for having arrived at it honestly. Brotherhood is not promoted by bickering and pee-wee fault-finding.

Two classes of rascals whom I might not have made sufficiently clear in previous chapters are the leaders who will sell out straight, and those who stay in, reasoning that they can thus make a living for their families. Of the two, I prefer the man who, like Judas, gets his thirty pieces of silver, and either goes off and hangs himself, or at least removes his carcass from the scene of operations. The other cheap serpent will eat away into the organization while professing friendship. He is like the snake that the foolish old man took in out of the cold and warmed in his bosom. It finally turned and shot its fangs into him. That is what some of our little moles on the inside would do and have done.

Farmer, watch out for the man who swears by all the heavenly and heathen gods that he is your friend. Deeds, not words, are what count. The Good Book says, "By their fruits shall ye know them." Thistles cannot bring forth figs, or vice versa. When a gentleman comes to you with this spiel, hold him off at arm's length by the scruff of the pants and look him over well before you become his victim.

I have said in previous chapters that it was necessary for the farmer to become as good a business man as he is planter. I might have added that he is giving evidence each day of more nearly appreciating this truth. The closest examination of the history of the Union and of its status in the Southern States will show the tremendous enterprises in which it is engaged, and the substitution of business-like methods on the part of the individual for the old slipshod lack of system. Our people are closely watchful and observant and I look for their achievements in this direction to increase even more rapidly as they convince themselves of the profit in such procedure.

I hardly think there will be an industrial revolution, for which opinion I will offer two reasons:

First: When the farmers and laborers convince the world that they know their strength and their rights, and are determined to exert the one to secure the other, the world will sit back with a graceful and resigned bow, and say, "Why, certainly, gentlemen, why didn't you say so earlier? Of course it's yours, and you may have it. We've only been keeping it for you all these years anyhow."

The second reason: The farmer is rapidly learning if he will

go after his wants in the right way—that is, the determined and intelligent way—he will get the prize with little trouble. The other fellow is sensible enough to know he is outclassed—in numbers and strength. Neither has he any craving to risk the safety of his property or the radical lowering of its value.

Get your eye glued on the fellow who raves about keeping the Union out of polities, but whose main motive in suppressing discussions of public questions in lodge meetings is the fear that the party on which some of his kin-folks depend for political favors will be damaged. There are plenty of this kind, and it's a good plan to examine into their motives before you take their ravings too seriously.

Another brand it will do to watch is the one that rares and snorts about organizing an independent party. I remember one in my own Farmers' Alliance local. This fellow got mad clear through because we would not organize a new party on the spot. In a day or two, members of the gang that controlled polities in the county saw him, bragged on his ability, told him they had had their eyes on him for some time, begged him to run for office.

He cooled off wonderfully. His enthusiasm about "independence" died overnight. He got the office-seeking fever. He ran for Clerk of the Court, and got a corporal's guard of votes. That experience soured him. You can't get him to join anything else, no matter what it is. He is a universal howler; can't see good in a single thing, and knocks every movement that comes under his vision.

There are two or three fellows like this to every county in the United States. You know one and I know several. They will get up in meeting, tear their hair, wave their arms and shout themselves hoarse about the "iniquities of the gang; the way such-and-such a party is robbing the people." They will call on their brethren, with tears in their voices and sweat on their foreheads, to "drive the rascals out of the temple," and purify polities.

In a day or two, they have had a private conference with some member of the very gang they were tearing to pieces, and you hear no more about "independence and purity in polities."

Business men who succeed do not go upon the looks of a man or their likes and dislikes of him, but upon what he can do. Men who are not liked, if they are business men, are sought out by

business houses, banks and railroads, because of their business qualifications, and placed at the head of concerns because of what they can do. When farmers come to have as much business sense as some merchants, bankers and railroad folks, the farmers will succeed. Without this application of business principles of the Union there can be no real business-like success. Men must be elected to business places in the Union because of business qualifications, and not because some set of men like them.

One of the most amusing as well as one of the most sad and disgusting sights is to see two old politicians in the Farmers' Union washing their dirty linen, and then see the whole bunch line up on one side or the other. I have known local Unions to go dead because the fools knew no better than to take sides in a personal row that they had no interest in. I have known County Unions ruined for the same reason.

There are two kinds of kickers. One is an honest man. The other is anything but honest. The first speaks out in meeting, and speaks plainly when he thinks things are not going as they should. He does not insinuate, but gives the names of individuals. He gives the dates.

The second fellow never stands up in meeting and talks out, but does a great deal of insinuating. He won't call anybody by name, and tell what they did and when they did it.

The first fellow I love. We could not get along without him. No honest officer fears an investigation of his official acts, and does not object to criticism. In fact, the honest critic or kicker helps him. Now, in the second class there are hundreds who never had an honest impulse in their lives. They complain of everything, however good or worthy. Being failures themselves, they despise the success of others.

Brother Farmer, stop telling about what you lost in the Alliance. In the first place, but few ever lost anything. In the second place, the few that did lose have no one to blame but themselves. I have made this statement many times in the presence of big crowds, and no one ever took me to task for saying it. Let me be very plain, and tell you exactly what I am talking about. In spite of everything that can be done; after all the begging, pleading, exhorting and praying for you to do better, you are content to vote for the fellow to look after your business

who is the most social, clever, hail-fellow-well-met, hand-shaking old hypocrite that can be found—the fellow that brags on you and cusses the other fellow—the fellow who is sympathetic in his talk, and in his manner, and who caused you to shed tears. In the days of the Alliance the brethren bought a warehouse in my county, and they elected the cleverest fellow I ever saw as manager. He knew just how to shake hands right. He knew how to "set 'em up" to soda water, lemonade, or anything else that suited your taste. I tell you, he was the cleverest fellow I ever saw. Now, that fellow stole everything he could get his hands on and left the State. Of course his bondsmen had several thousand dollars to pay. Now, they were to blame, for there was not a single one of them but who was fairly intelligent, and knew to start with that that fellow was a grand rascal.

Now, Brother Farmer, it has been said that you are a past master in one thing—and I am afraid that it is partly true—that is in getting a man to look after your business who is too ignorant to get in out of a shower of rain, or in getting the grandest rascal in the country.

Say, Brother Farmer, I want to ask you one question about one thing, and I believe you will be honest and tell the truth. Now, here she comes:

Don't it hurt you a whole lot more for you to think that your brother farmer is getting a few pennies of your hard-earned dollars, than it does for you to know that the other fellow is getting hundreds? Now, honest, is this not so?

— — —

Farmers who are not members, strangers, friends or enemies, should not take too seriously every fool resolution passed by a Farmers' Union Convention. It is the easiest thing in the world to get one of these reform-the-universe-while-you-wait affairs through the average gathering. Some pipe-dream can always command enough fool friends to lose their heads and support the wildest sort of proposition. If the resolution is sufficiently harmless, I believe in letting them have their way as a means of blowing off steam, just as you often promise a fretful child the moon as the only way to get rid of him.





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